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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 203

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# CHINA REPORT

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ROLE OF PARTY LEADERSHIP IN SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY EXAMINED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Mar 81 p 3

[Commentary by Song Zhengmin [1345 2973 3046] entitled: "Party Leadership and Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] Some people see party leadership and socialist democracy as opposing forces and feel that if democracy is to be encouraged then party leaders cannot be emphasized. They think that if the leaders are emphasized it centralizes and unifies, thus limiting democracy. This is an extremely erroneous viewpoint.

Democracy, first of all, is a national political system. Lenin said that democracy is precisely "the nation which acknowledges that the minority serves the majority," that is, the nation which does things according to the will of the majority. Therefore, democracy itself is a kind of order, a kind of discipline. It has facets of both freedom and restriction. It is not democratic to those who go against the will of the majority and those who infringe upon the sovereign rights of the people. Socialist democracy, or people's democracy, means the people being their own master, that is, all of the people, on the basis of those mutually enjoyed rights to different means of production [as published] and governing rights, enjoy the ultimate right of governing the nation. This is undoubtedly a most extensive democracy and at the same time it is a strict system constructed out of a unity of will. It neither bestows special position or rights on any certain group, nor does it permit any restriction or limitation of the absolute freedom of individual action. The problem of democracy can be seen. In the final analysis it is a question of class interest. Socialist democracy is a political system which protects and embodies the common interests of all laborers. From the standpoint of basic interests, the leadership of the party and socialist democracy are not mutually contradictory, but are totally integrated and consistent. The only purpose of our party is to serve the people. Except for the interests of the people, the party has no private interests of its own. The party leadership educates, supports, and organizes the people. They do not even consider nor struggle for their own interests. Thus, socialist democracy is both a democratic system where the people are their own masters and a kind of democratic system under the leadership of the party. Such is the case because first of all, without the party leadership, socialist democracy could not be built, consolidated or developed. This has been proved not only by the history of the international communist movement but by the history of China's revolutionary struggle as well. In the past, our nation was a semicolonial, semifeudal state. The people had already struggled a long time for their own democratic rights. During the people's

struggle, all kinds of political parties had been encountered which espoused every hue of "democracy," but none of them were able to lead the people in ridding themselves of their oppression and enslavement. Only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party did the struggle of the people to achieve democracy gain focus and direction, and finally attain the rights of democracy for the people. The establishment, implementation, and development of our democratic system, democratic form and democratic measures; the organization and implementation of all democratic activities; the struggle of the people, and the party with all events and actions which run counter to democratic principles; all of these were carried out with the support of the leadership of the party. The reform of our current system of leadership; the broadening of local and entrepreneurial rights of independence; the amplification and consummation of our democratic system; etc.; a series of strong measures expanding our socialist democracy; and the establishment of the goal of a highly democratic and highly civilized modern nation, also were all proposed by our party. Without the leadership of the party, the people could not be their own masters and none of the problems of socialist democracy could be solved. Secondly, the party leadership is not a power which is a force outside of socialist democracy, but rather a special requirement of socialist democracy itself. The concentration of socialist democracy is primarily embodied through party line, guiding principles, and policies. When speaking of the function of democracy, Lenin said: "we should strictly delineate the two categories of democratic function: one is debate and the convening of mass meeting; the other is the establishment of a very strict system of responsibility towards all duties and to unconditionally, in labor, consciously and with discipline, carry out orders and instructions, enabling the economic mechanism to work like a clock...." He further stated: "If there is no unity of will which forms the entire body of laborers into an economic organ which operates as accurately as a clock," "then there can be no talk of implementing socialist democracy." The two functions of democracy of which Lenin speaks in "Suweiai Zhengquande Dangqian Renwu 'Yiwende Chugao'" ["The Soviet Regime's Current Obligation 'A Rough Draft'"] are precisely those functions of democracy and centralization which people are often speaking of now. It can be seen that democracy itself includes centralization of the two functions of democracy and centralization. Centralization then is a requirement of democracy and is the achievement and realization of democracy. Therefore, under a socialist democratic system, every person must serve to centralize the will of the majority. The exercise of one's democratic right to control the state is not merely doing as you please, but rather is doing things suffering the restrictions of centralization, in a specific democratic organization, and through specific democratic form and democratic procedure. There is little doubt that strengthening the party's centralized, unified leadership is one of the indispensable basic features of socialist democracy. Furthermore, if there is no democratic party leadership and no democracy of laws, discipline and order, then there is no socialist democracy. In the socialist democratic system, if there is no democratic party leadership then what kind of democracy is that? We are fortunate to have experienced it once. Everyone still clearly remembers the "great democracy" during 10 years of chaos. Originally, this had absolutely nothing to do with democracy, but it actually, in the name of democracy kicked open a kind of "great democracy" of party leadership. The results were to cause the nation to collapse into a state of unbearable confusion, to allow an extreme minority of people to obtain freedom to do evil and play the tyrant, and merely to bring humiliation and suffering to the broad masses where there had been none. We should not forget this recently period of history. It proves, from the negative side, this one truth; in our nation, once party leadership is lost, the people have also lost democracy and a national democratization cannot possibly be realized.

Since socialism itself is still in the process of practice, socialist democracy is also in practice. Therefore, if socialist democracy is to be expanded, all that is needed to be done is to strengthen the leadership of the party. Any tendencies to weaken or override the leadership are all harmful in the extreme. We emphasize that strengthening the leadership in no way signifies a limitation of the people to exercise normal democratic rights or normal democratic activities, but suggests that under party leadership, correct applications of democracy will be learned and struggle will be waged with all twisted and damaged democratic phenomena, which will allow our socialist democracy to be able to advance along the proper line. At present, further economic adjustment and political stabilization is being implemented. This is the general situation for the entire nation and it is also in the basic interest of all the people. Therefore, all of our words and deeds must take the entire situation into consideration and consciously serve the party's centralized, unified leadership. No matter what reforms in the political and economic system are taken, or what democratic requests are made, or to what degree or which democratic forms are put to use, they must all be in the interest of economic adjustment and political stabilization. They cannot be separated from the overall situation to use "democracy" to seek the private interests of any person or group of persons. Even more, they must not permit the use of "democracy" to seek any political aims. This is a question of basic principle and basic opinion. We must have a clear understanding of this.

Of course, it should also be seen that, due to many subjective and objective reasons, some cadres are still not too adept at accurately implementing party leadership nor are they able to implement accurately and fully the principles of a centralized democratic system. Bureaucracy, patriarchy, suppression of democracy, and one person in charge are still firmly entrenched in the minds of some cadres. The unhealthy tendencies of some party members directly encroach upon the democratic rights and vital interests of the masses and do direct harm to the leadership and prestige of the party. However, the struggle with bureaucracy and other undemocratic phenomena can only be done with the leadership of the party and an attitude of anarchy cannot be taken, otherwise chaos will be the result. Therefore, as Stalin put it best: "If the struggle to oppose bureaucracy in our state organs is to be turned into steps to destroy those state organs or into steps to sweep away the prestige of those state organs or if it is an attempt to make those steps falter, then that turns away from Leninism and forgets that our state organization is a soviet organization, which is the highest form of state organization in the world today." The leftist things such as "kicking out the party committee making revolution," frequent blowups, and striking down to the ground have given off an unbearable stench and do not have much of a market. However, the tendencies of some people to use the name of democracy in an attempt to shake, weaken and abolish party leadership should heighten our awareness. They use the slogan "Fight for Democracy and Freedom" to deceive unknowing youths. They ignore the laws, system and organized discipline of the state. They do whatever they want. They separate themselves from the policy, scope and real difficulties of the party and make unreasonable demands often creating disturbances. All of this fully explains that to turn away from the four basic principles and to deviate from the party leadership's discussion of democracy inevitably leads to anarchy and bourgeois liberalization. Furthermore, only through strengthening and continual improvement of the party leadership can the basic guarantees of socialist democracy be developed and consummated.



## PARTY AND STATE

### LEGAL SYSTEM AS GUARANTOR OF RIGHTS DEFENDED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 May 81 p 3

[Article by Rong Fu /2837 11337: "Is Enhancing Legal System 'Suppressing Democracy?'" ]

[Text] Some people believe the socialist legal system is a tool of dictatorship over the enemy and do not realize that it is also a weapon for the protection of the people's democracy. They believe that a developing democracy has no need for restraints of any kind and that strengthening the legal system "suppresses democracy." This is a one-sided perception of the relationship between democracy and the legal system.

The relationship between socialist democracy and the socialist legal system is one of dialectical unity, the two are mutually supplemental. Only when the people have achieved democracy and only on the basis of a fully developed people's democracy, can the socialist legal system be established and perfected; and also only if the socialist legal system is put into effect conscientiously, can there be a real guarantee of the people's democratic rights. The ultimate purpose in having socialist democracy and the socialist legal system as component parts of the socialist superstructure is to protect and develop the social productive force, to protect and develop the socialist, modernized economic construction and to raise the material and cultural living standard of all the people.

Democracy is the precondition and foundation for the legal system. The legal system is the affirmation and guarantee of democracy come to fruition. If the people could not gain the position of masters in their own house, politically speaking, and did not enjoy the rights as masters in their own house, there would be absolutely no possibility of establishing a socialist legal system. Under the leadership of the CCP and through an extended courageous struggle, with the blood of our revolutionary martyrs drenching our land, our people in 1949 toppled the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and seized political power. Only after achieving the preconditions of becoming masters in their own house and enjoying democratic rights, could our people establish the socialist legal system. People's democracy was the foundation for the socialist legal system. Reflected in this legal system is the people's will and represented in it are the interests of the people; it is determined by the people and relies on the people for implementation. When the people register the fruits of victory and affirm them in the form of a socialist legal system which fixes the principles of people's democracy, they in this way proclaim in writing, in their constitution and laws, the democratic right of the people to be masters in their own house and gain a guarantee in the laws that are

backed by the compelling force of the proletarian state. The further development of socialist democracy demands that the socialist legal system conform to this development, that it be further perfected and that the socialist democracy be further expanded and better guaranteed. The belief that emphasis on the socialist legal system will amount to a suppression of democracy is therefore completely unfounded.

The socialist legal system is to guarantee the realization of people's democracy and protect the people's democratic rights from encroachment. In accordance with the aspirations and interests of the entire people, it affirms a socialist orientation of democratization. It fixes the democratic path. It is a signpost for the masses in exercising their democratic rights and it demands of the people that they consciously respect this socialist legal system, observe revolutionary and construction work discipline, defend public order and keep themselves within the bounds of proletarian law and discipline. These restraints by law and discipline are not "suppression of democracy." If we were to allow a minority of our people to defy all human and natural laws to do as they please without any restraints whatever, to do things completely the way they want to, that would inflict great damage on the interests of the state, encroach on the democratic rights of others, destroy democracy and open the way for bourgeois individualistic democracy and anarchism.

We are determined to strengthen the socialist legal system and to uphold the authority of the law. No one shall be allowed to encroach on the rights stipulated in the Constitution, and the duties of citizens stipulated in the Constitution must be fulfilled by everyone. The socialist legal system is compulsory by nature, everybody has to abide by its provisions, it is either observed consciously or it is enforced.

The socialist legal system guarantees the people's democratic rights to be free from encroachments, which means exercising democratic rights is subject to the restrictions which the legal system lays down as a code of conduct. The citizens have the right to free speech, but this must not go against the four basic principles, which are the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We shall not prosecute speech as a crime, but no one is allowed to spread false rumors, slander or lodge false accusations. We permit free assembly, demonstrations and strikes, but these have to observe regulations and must proceed as the law prescribes; no one will be permitted to be deliberately provocative, create incidents, cause unwarranted trouble or disturb production, work or public order. We want to have everyone in a happy frame of mind, but no one must violate the common aspirations of the people, violate law, destroy discipline and offend public morality.

Actually, democratic freedom without restrictions of any kind has never existed anywhere in this world. Even the so-called capitalist free world, flaunting its "freedom of speech," has many legal restrictions concerning the freedom of speech. American law has such stipulations as "the society must not be disturbed," "it is forbidden to slander or calumniate against people," etc. The federal criminal laws of the United States also prescribe that incitement forcibly to overthrow the Federal Government or local governments will be punished and that punishment will also be imposed in case of "clear and present danger." The United Nations in the resolution of its conference on freedom of the press in 1948 pointed out: "The freedom of publication also on the other side entails duties and responsibilities, violations of which will result in punishment as clearly stipulated in law." It is therefore impossible to have democratic freedoms without some kind of restrictions, the problem

is what characteristics these restrictions should have. Socialist countries formulate certain restrictions according to the will and interests of the majority and capitalist countries impose restrictions according to the will and interests of a minority. Seeking "democracy" and "freedom" without restrictions of any kind would lead to a state of ultrademocracy and anarchism. However, the people would oppose that; it would be a dead-end road not to be entered.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PRIVILEGES SAID TO BE GAINED ONLY BY FULFILLING DUTIES

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 81 p 3

[Article by Yang Jilan [2799 7139 1526]: "Privileges and Duties"]

[Text] In elementary school, the teacher talked to us in class about the ideals of communism. Among much that I did not understand, I only remember the eight-character phrase "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." What is its inherent meaning? After class this became the topic of much discussion among us pupils and it was elaborated on "creatively." Some understood it to mean "good food, good clothes and nothing to worry about." Others imagined it to mean that "there would be no more need to lift a finger, just pressing an electric button would bring whatever one desired." ...None of us stopped to think what "nothing to worry about" could rely on, or how "not lifting one finger" could provide everything?

One may say that we were then ignorant little children. Now we can of course fully understand: In a communist society the "to each according to his needs" also requires a "from each according to his ability." Only a "from each according to his ability" will enable the society to give "to each according to his needs." In the socialist society a similar dialectic relationship exists between "from each according to his ability" and the "distribution according to work." Basically it is a problem of privileges and duties. Privileges can only be gained by fulfilling duties. The reason for this problem is of course very simple and plain, but transposed into actual life it is not that simple. On the one hand one must not overemphasize duties and neglect privileges and on the other hand, also, one must not overemphasize privileges and neglect duties.

The rights of the citizen have been confirmed in that solemn document, the Constitution of the PRC, where it says, for instance, that every citizen has the right to work and the right to an education, workers have the right to rest, etc. The party and the people's government are now instituting various measures to open up avenues for employment, for schooling and for people of talent, all this is to create the preconditions for the enjoyment of all these privileges by the broad masses of our youths. However, not all our young comrades cherish these privileges which have been so difficult to provide. For instance, some waste their spare time strolling around the streets, playing cards or endlessly talking in all directions, rather than taking this good opportunity to study, thus frivolously giving up this privilege. We should indeed firmly seize and hold on to our rights in a serious and solemn attitude.

The Constitution also clearly stipulates the duties of the citizens. They are: Every citizen must support the leadership of the CCP, the socialist system, uphold the unity of our fatherland and the unity of all our nationalities, observe the Constitution and all laws. Every citizen must cherish and protect public property, observe work discipline, observe public order, respect social morality, guard state secrets, etc. These provisions appear very abstract but their concrete content is very substantial. Implementing these duties does not seem difficult, but to put every one of them into practice will undoubtedly require a serious and tremendous effort. Did not a number of comrades even sacrifice their precious lives in carrying out the duty of protecting public property? Fulfilling one's duties is the responsibility of every single person, no one, from leadership cadre down to the ordinary member of the masses, is exempt. There are no "special citizens" who might think of claiming privileges without the necessity of performing duties.

Rights and duties are like the two legs of a healthy person, not one of them can be missed. Only if all of us with the attitude of masters of the state fulfill the obligations that every citizen is expected to fulfill, can the privileges we gain be more abundant and more complete. The great master of modern Soviet prose, M. Prishvin, once said: "Every person must find one such aim for his efforts so that the life lived for oneself alone quite naturally turns into a life for a closer or more distant relative or for the great community." Find such an aim of life's effort in reliance on the gradual perfection of the socialist system, also in reliance on the entire body of cadres and the masses in their correct handling of the relatives between privileges and duties.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### VALUE OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT STRESSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 81 p 1

[Article by Hu Ruquan [5170 3067 3123]: "Uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought"]

[Text] Ever since the Third Party Plenum we have restored the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and have achieved pleasing results in utilizing the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study the new conditions and solve the new problems. We are now in the process of eliminating the long-term "left" mistakes which occurred under the leadership of Jiang Qing and smoothly implementing changes in the party and state work emphasis so as to permit our efforts in socialist modernization to follow a path of healthy developments. Nonetheless, even today there still are some people who are unable to comprehend the relationship between supporting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and smashing superstition and liberating ideology and who harbor many suspicions, either on the "left" or the right. In order to eliminate these suspicions and misunderstandings we must make a concrete analysis of the dialectical relationship between supporting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and ideological liberation.

#### Grasp Basic Principles, Maintain Contact with Reality

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a complete world view and a complete system of scientific thought. It provides guidance to the proletariat in standing up and seeking liberation. It is a powerful ideological weapon for implementing socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "It is mandatory that the entire party improve its understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, because this principle is the only guide for victory in the Chinese revolution." The reason that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought provides such strong leadership is that it enables us to clearly perceive the situation, understand the internal relationships of changing conditions, fathom the process of change and control all laws of change. It helped to eradicate the capitalist slave labor system and helped the proletariat to more clearly define the goals of its struggle. The proletariat then could advance along the correct path and be relied upon to win and uphold victory in the revolution.

Nonetheless, the great leadership function of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can achieve full expression only when it is united with the process of struggle and practice. As soon as it is separated from proletarian class struggle and separated from proletarian revolutionary activities Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought then becomes entirely useless. Therefore, the proletarian revolutionary leaders have repeatedly warned us that our theories are not mere doctrine but provide leadership for taking actions. They sneer at those people who can only memorize and recite "formulas" and see such behavior as "immature fantasy." This is because Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought only provides people with a correct stance, viewpoint and method for understanding and transforming the world and is not and can not be a universal panacea for all ills. The proletariat and its revolutionary party can only use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to closely unite with the realities of the revolutionary struggle and apply its stance, viewpoint and methodology to analyze the real conditions facing the revolution and to solve the problems which occur in practice. This is the only method which will lead to the goal of continual progress in revolution. However, during a particular period of time in the past a number of people forgot about these important teachings of the proletarian revolutionary leaders and did not use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a living revolutionary theory, as a guide in carrying out struggle but instead viewed it as an eternally unchanging doctrine. They did not use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to analyze and understand the conditions facing the revolutionary tasks but rather selected individual lines from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and forced them into a mold which fit their view of objective reality. This was especially true of the anti-revolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who, in their anti-revolutionary plot to usurp power, used all their energies to create modern myths, boast that each word is pure truth, and "each word replaces ten thousand other words." This theory of "superiority" made the leaders into gods, turned revolutionary theory into religious doctrine and resulted in extremely serious consequences. Even after smashing the "gang of four" there still are people who continue to mouth the "whatever" sentiments and obstruct the rapid liquidation of the remaining poisons and influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

After smashing the "gang of four" the Party undertook to penetrate their fabrications, distortions and lies about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and correct some comrades' short-sighted superstitions by issuing a call to completely and correctly grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and thus took a decisive step toward smashing ideological bonds on the road to rectifying our ideological line. This was closely followed by discussion of the topic that practice is the only criterion for evaluating truth. This was a great step forward in restoring the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The Third Party Plenum carried out high level criticism concerning the problem of correct standards of truth and re-established a correct ideological line for being realistic, seeking the truth and uniting theory with practice. This created a basic premise for eradicating superstition, liberating ideology, investigating new conditions and



solving new problems. Ever since the Third Plenum the Party Central has led the whole party and all the people in applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, honestly summing up the historical experiences of socialist revolution and socialist construction, worked hard to overcome the long-term "left" leading ideology and solve a series of great historical problems. They have deeply studied China's national situation, bravely explored the concrete path for implementing socialist modernization and have achieved pleasing results in these endeavors.

The greatest accomplishments of the Third Plenum were to restore the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and re-establish a correct ideological line. However, some people claim that this is a rejection of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Some of the people who say this do so out of ignorance. This is because they have been deeply influenced by the poisons of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and have not been liberated from their ideological ossification. The great majority of them lack true understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There are also those who do so out of an evil desire to attack. This is because the Third Party Plenum revealed the wicked past of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and revealed their true natures, leaving them no place to hide. Therefore, this small group of followers of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and other undesirables engaged in a mad and poisonous attack.

Reality is superior to eloquence. Ever since the Third Plenum the successes on all battlefronts proved that this conference established the correct ideological line, that it restored the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, that it upholds the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and that these systems and theories have not at all been neglected.

#### Uphold Basic Principles and Carry Out Ideological Liberation

The Third Party Plenum established the direction to "liberate ideology, start up the apparatus, seek truth and achieve overall forward-looking ideological unity." This is the correct principle for promoting the forward development of Marxism.

Regarding this correct direction of the Third Plenum, some people oppose it from the "left" by insulting ideological liberation as "cutting down the flag." Some people oppose it from the right in the name of ideological liberation by plotting to fundamentally deny the leadership function of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They create an opposition between ideological liberation and supporting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the belief that to liberate ideology means to reject the leadership of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and that to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought leadership is to restrain a person's ideology and prevent ideological liberation. These viewpoints are obviously mistaken.

For 19 years the manipulations and distortions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" caused serious harm to the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and made many people unable to distinguish between true Marxism and false Marxism. This serious injury to the people's ideology was caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The only way to cure this injury is for the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to criticize the counter-revolutionary perverse theories of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," distinguish between the true and the false, overcome chaos and restore the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. There is no cause to reject Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is true that Comrade Mao Zedong did make some errors in his advanced age. However, the life of Comrade Mao Zedong was one of glory, revolution and struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong is a great Marxist and an outstanding proletarian revolutionary. His achievements are primary and his errors are secondary. We cannot deny his achievements because of his mistakes and even less can reject Mao Zedong Thought. Moreover, Mao Zedong Thought is a treasure for the entire Party, is the common creation of Comrade Mao Zedong and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and is the crystallization of the lifeblood of all party comrades. Naturally, Mao Zedong Thought does not include the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong Thought gives abundance to Marxism, and adds much new content to the treasury of Marxist Theory. Past, present or future, Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology for all of our work. We ought to absorb the wisdom contained in Comrade Mao Zedong's writings in order to promote progress in our efforts. We can only deny unworthy mistakes and cannot deny science. We can only deny a person's mistakes and cannot deny a person's accomplishments or contributions to science.

Global conditions are now undergoing numerous changes, producing new conditions and posing new problems. Marxist writings have not left us with any ready-made solutions. Nonetheless, we cannot therefore suspect that Marxism has lost its leadership function and become a thing of the past. The contradictions in the capitalist world are by no means solved and the basic principles of Marxism are by no means outdated. The present task of Marxists is to utilize the basic principles of Marxism to study and understand present conditions in order to seek correct solutions and provide us with leadership in our actions. If, because of this, we suspect the correctness of Marxism and advocate disregarding it that would be like casting the worker class onto the open seas without a guiding light and would result in chaos and disaster.

Because of this, we have always vigorously opposed any tendencies to reject Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This, however, does not mean that we wish to return to the old path of "every word is the pure truth" and the two "whatevers." The phrase "every word is the pure truth" and the two "whatevers" are different only in form and actually on the one hand express a rejection of the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, we must



carry out a simultaneous struggle against these two mistaken tendencies, which means to oppose any ossification of Marxism into a doctrine and to oppose any rejection of the basic principles of Marxism.

### **Uphold Basic Principles and Develop Marxism**

Except for the personal motivations of a small number of people, most people say that the reason why these mistaken viewpoints have emerged is because of an inability to understand the basic spirit of the Third Party Plenum and the inability to understand the relationship of dialectical unity between supporting the basic principles of Marxism and liberating one's ideology.

Marxism consists of universal principles and we must always uphold the basic principles of Marxism without even an iota of rejection. Nonetheless, Marxism cannot stagnate and must continually develop through practice. The various formulas and conclusions must change in accord with changing times and cannot but respond to new historical tasks with new formulations and new conclusions. Herein lies the vitality of Marxism. The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress reported: "There is but one party, one state and one people and if all of these proceed from bookishness and ossified ideology then there will be no progress, the vital principle will die and the party and state are doomed." The conditions are the same for any system of ideology. Marxism can protect its eternal life only through continued development. If developments cease then the vital force and the value of its existence will be lost. The truth of this matter is proven by the history of the developments in Marxism.

Everyone knows that when Marx and Engels were alive they wrote a number of prefatory items to the "Communist Manifesto" and in doing so made a number of changes and additions to the theories and viewpoints in it. Lenin also did not entirely embrace the conclusions of Marx and Engels but used the stance, viewpoint and methodology of Marxism to concretely analyze the objective conditions of capitalism which by that time had already developed into the imperialist stage. He was thus able to reach a conclusion whereby socialism could achieve early victory in a state by taking advantages of the weak links in imperialism. The birth of Mao Zedong Thought also is powerful proof of the need for continued development of Marxism. During the period of the democratic revolution the party also made a number of mistakes, the most serious of them that of making Marxism into a doctrine. The Communist International said that such an act basically did not take consideration of China's national conditions and ignored the adaptability of Marxism. The historical contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong lies in his major study of China's national condition and his adaption of the basic principles of Marxism to China's national conditions. He thus led us to victory in the new democratic revolution. At the start of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, Chairman Mao also undertook a study of China's national conditions so that we were also relatively successful during the early period of the

socialists revolution and socialist construction. It was only in the advanced age of Comrade Mao Zedong that for a variety of reasons he made some mistakes. In the entire history of Marxism we can clearly see that to support Marxism means to utilize and develop the basic premises of Marxism. To utilize and develop Marxism also means to support the major criterion of Marxism. Without support there can be no utilization and development, and without utilization and development there can be no support. Only by supporting the basic principles of Marxism and by liberating ideology, by making flexible application and by making continued efforts to develop unity can we guarantee the preservation of the revolutionary force and flourishing vitality of Marxism. We believe that under the leadership of Marxism Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought our efforts in the construction of socialist modernization will certainly meet with new victories.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY, SUPERSTITION CONTRASTED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 27 May 81 p 4

[Article by Cai Yirun [5591 0001 3387] and Zhao Ziping [6392 1311 1627]: "Revolutionary Authority and Superstitious Belief"]

[Text] Authority and superstition are matters intolerably confused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of unrest. Because they are unable to draw the boundary line between revolutionary authority and superstition, some comrades, after discovering that in the past they have been deceived by modern superstitions, turn around and sink into an anarchistic tide of doubt and denial of proletarian revolutionary authority. Life raises this sort of problem: In abandoning modern superstitions is it permissible to reject all authority? Will following revolutionary authority lead us into new modern superstitions? Correctly answering these questions has important practical meanings in regard to our conscious support of the four fundamental principles, the consolidation and development of our stable and unified political situation, and the smooth implementation of socialist modernization construction.

Why do some people equate revolutionary authority with superstition? There are profound historical and social causes for this sort of understanding.

In terms of the historical causes, mankind's very first conceptions of authority and superstition were produced due to an incorrect understanding of the natural world. As far back as the beginning of history men were powerless against nature's might, and the result was the establishment of nature's authority over man. At that time, due to the low level of the production forces and the lack of scientific knowledge, man was unable to explain scientifically thunderstorms, volcanic eruptions, floods, earthquakes, solar and lunar eclipses, and other phenomena, and so believed there was a kind of inexplicable spiritual force which inexorably manipulated nature. Thus, the spiritual conceptions of "wind god," "rain god," "thunder god," "god of lightning," and so forth came into being. The appearance of notions of spirits marked the first religious superstition--the result of a natural religion. In this way, man's superstitions about the natural world and about "heaven" were formed.

In terms of social causes, after man's development entered the stage of class society, the exploiting classes, in order to protect their ruling position, on the one hand, formed, in accordance with their own wills and desires, a set of political and legal systems and moral norms which exploited and oppressed the

masses, and which became the supreme authority, forcing the people's acceptance and obedience. At the same time they transferred the people's superstitions concerning the natural world to the sphere of politics, forcefully giving the authority which they had created a superstitious hue to be used in deceiving and cheating the broad masses. For example, the feudal landlord classes extravagantly promoted the ideas, "the lord's authority is divinely conferred," and "heaven and man are in empathy," and they strongly praised such notions as "the mandate of heaven," "the will of heaven," and "predestined tragedy of heaven." They gave the emperor whose power was held to be supreme the titles the "son of heaven" and the "master of men." His will was an "imperial decree" which had to be absolutely obeyed, and his speech was "immutable law" which could not be violated. And even the ministers who served him were known as "incarnated stars descended to earth." In this way the exploiting classes created an anthropomorphic heaven, deified man, gave a superstitious twist to authority, wove together the authority calling for obedience to "the mandate of heaven" and the authority calling for obedience to the ruling classes, wove into one piece the superstitions about spirits and the superstitions about the ruling classes, and forced all of this on the working people. This uniting of authority and superstition became a huge rope which bound the masses.

The new democracy and socialist revolution of our party leadership has been an attempt to liberate the masses from the shackles of the old system and from the old ideological bondage, and to make them the masters of nature, society, and themselves. But the realm of consciousness is relatively independent. Although the decayed conceptions of blind superstitious authority collapsed following the establishment of our new socialist system, the remnants will remain in peoples' minds for a long historical period. At the same time, our nation is a vast ocean and a small producer's economy. Although the submissive notions peculiar to the small producer of not believing in the self, not being able to protect the self and not being able to represent the self have lost their material base of existence, still these traditional concepts remain a serious problem. Through 10 years of unrest, the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques slipped into the imperfect gaps in our democratic system and legal system and used these old traditional concepts and the leader's air of majesty to stir up modern superstitions and to foster movements to create gods.

In the beginning there actually existed a connection between authority and superstition, and then the intention of the various exploiting classes throughout history plus that of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" throughout the 10 years of unrest utterly to confuse them beyond distinction increased the difficulty of our distinguishing truth and falsehood. But, is it true that we cannot distinguish between revolutionary authority and superstition? The answer is no. Because the authority of which we speak is the revolutionary authority of the proletariat and is not reactionary authority or the authority of blind faith. These kinds of authority, one built on science and one on superstition, are basically in opposition and are different in principle.

First, revolutionary authority is built on the foundation of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, while superstition is the product of idealism. For example, the line, principles, and policies established since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee were established and set forth under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, have since summarized the



nation-building experience and, in particular, the lessons of the 10 years of unrest, and while starting from our nation's actual conditions, analyzed the objective political and economic situation. They everywhere embody the spirit of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and so speaking to all party members, they, of course, carry great authority. More than 2 years of practice have proved that all localities and units that have seriously and thoroughly carried out the line, principles, and policies of the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee have had marked results in every item of work," while those which have ignored them have had problems which have damaged our undertakings. Contrary to this, superstition is a distortion of the original face of objective facts. It is an idealistic thing. For instance, religious adherents superstitiously believe in god. God is the authority. But, in fact, there is no god. The idea was created in accordance with the will and desires of the exploiting classes.

Secondly, revolutionary authority is irrefutable, while superstition cannot pass the test of truth and practice. Revolutionary authority is the summation of practice. Its source is practice, and it has been proved in practice. Because of this, as it passes through more tests of practice, and as it increasingly conforms to the changes of time, it reveals its tremendous vitality. Everyone knows that Marx and Engels were the earliest political and theoretical authorities in the history of the international communist movement, but when Marxism first originated, it was but a single school of the workers movement. At that time every nation's government and every faction of the bourgeoisie hated, attacked and slandered it. But the theory of Marxism nonetheless spread among the world's proletariat and working people. Its political and theoretical influence extended far beyond their political boundaries and the historical era in which they lived to become the truth which people in today's society seek for and thirst after and to become a potent weapon for comprehending and remaking the world. This is so because Marxism is science, and originated in the practice of the workers movement, and moreover it has been proved to be objective truth by the practice of the workers movement. And all superstitious beliefs are fallacious, perverted ideas which violate facts and objective laws, and which cannot stand up to the test of practice. Regardless of how much flowery eloquence is used to promote it, or how much they praise it as the highest "ultimate truth," even going so far as to use "fire and sword" to propagate it, it will in the end, under the test of practice, still be consumed in ash and smoke and dissolve in complete collapse. For example, Proudhon and Bakunin of the First International both considered themselves saviors of the world, declaring that their "pockets held a readymade prescription for creating a heaven on earth." But, in such a short time in the face of the test of practice they were shamefully bankrupt. Reality prevails over eloquent speech. Practice is the touchstone for distinguishing revolutionary authority and superstition.

Thirdly, revolutionary authority is formed in the struggle of revolutionary practice, while superstition is blind faith. For example, the authority of the party leadership is not self-styled, but is formed in the practice of struggle. When the party had just been set up it was a small organization with little influence. In long-term revolutionary struggle our party, on the one hand, established the correct political line in accordance with the special characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, and in due time raised the battle cry of reflecting the interests and demands of the broad masses. On the other hand, it fully brought into play the vanguard model role of Communist Party members and with its own real actions influenced the masses and propelled them forward. Because of this, the

party organization continuously developed and strengthened. The broad peasant masses recognized in practice that our party was the faithful representative of their interests, consciously accepted the leadership of our party, and struggled hard to carry out the battle tasks set forth by the party. Of course, in the process of leading the revolution and construction the party has made mistakes, but these mistakes have made our party wiser and more mature. During the period of democratic revolution we committed mistakes of both the "left" and the right, and they caused the undertakings of our party to suffer tremendous losses. Only after our party corrected these mistakes did it attain the great victories in overturning the "Three Great Mountains" [imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism], in the war of resistance against Japan, and in the war of liberation. "The Great Cultural Revolution" created unprecedented disasters in the undertakings of the party and the people; but having gone about summarizing the lessons of experience and having corrected the mistakes of the "left," we certainly can lead the masses in seizing the great victory of socialist modernization construction. Therefore, the broad masses have not lost faith because of the party's mistakes, but rather are even more full of trust and expectation. The facts are clear that the leadership authority of the party was formed in struggle, and is sincerely welcomed by the people and not forced upon them. Quite the contrary, superstition is the product of the treachery of the exploiting classes and the ignorance of the people. In the feudal society the slightest impropriety toward the "emperor" was a capital offense, with the punishment even extended to a man's relatives. During the 10 years of unrest the slightest resistance to the set of modern superstitions instigated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was "disloyal" to the leader and was met with "concerted punishment by the entire party and concerted attack by the entire nation." Superstition affects the emancipation of the people's minds, reducing their fighting spirit, and obstructing the development of the forces of production.

The facts mentioned above make clear that revolutionary authority and superstition are as incompatible as water and fire, and are distinct in essence. However, if we make revolutionary authority absolute or make it into an idol, this will violate science and easily lead us into superstitious beliefs. So only by upholding the principle of seeking the truth in facts and by uniting theory and practice can we break down the various superstitions and correctly follow and carry out revolutionary authority.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### DIALECTICAL APPROACH SAID NECESSARY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 May 81 p 1

[Article by ZHEJIANG RIBAO commentator: "Learn To Look at Problems Dialectically"]

[Text] Today, our newspaper published a report on successes scored by Shanghu and Puxi Communes in developing simultaneously, grain production and a diversified economy, enlightening the leaders in charge of agricultural production to the fact that they must consider it absolutely necessary to study materialist dialectics.

Experiences of the two communes show that a further effort for the rectification of the ideological line is a prerequisite for the correct implementation of the series of the Central Committee's principles and policies. For years, some one-sided views have taken shape under the influence of the erroneous "leftist" ideology and especially metaphysics which held sway over the people when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in the heyday of their power. Such views still exist in the minds of some comrades to a serious degree along with the harmful work style of interpreting everything in absolute and simple terms. To them, it seems that grain production is adversely affected by the promotion of the diversified economy and the development of the economy in an all-round way. When we are committed to grasping grain production well, we will have little time for promoting the diversified economy; when we emphasize the need to respect the power of self-determination delegated to the production teams, the state planning and guidance program should be abandoned; no power of self-determination can be delegated to production teams if the state planning and guidance program is kept intact; the strengthening of the economic control is not in the interests of a viable economy; control will stifle the growth of the economy; criticizing the "leftists" means leaving the rightists alone; criticizing the rightists means denying the fact that the major mistakes were committed by the "leftists." The result is that they unreasonably split up all interrelated matters, thus placing themselves in an awkward predicament in which they can neither criticize the "leftists" nor "rightists." In this way, they have committed more mistakes in work. All these facts mean that we have suffered too much from metaphysics. For this reason, we must consider it extremely important to encourage everyone to study dialectics, to learn to assess problems from the dialectical point of view, to apply materialist dialectics as a guide to work.

The guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee embody brilliant materialist-dialectical ideas. The line and policies set by this session are aimed at correcting the adventurist "leftist" guiding thought

that transcends objective reality and reflects a sense of impetuosity so as to foster the scientific guiding thought of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. The party's principles and policies have been proven correct because they reflect laws governing the development of things and a sense of rapport with objective reality. However, the objective matters will never stop developing and changing, thus forcing the party to take inevitable measures to properly readjust and revamp its specific policies and programs on the basis of the actual conditions. This approach may irritate those people who love running business in accordance with the old regulations, and who prefer a single pattern that applies everywhere. Regardless of the objective situation that changes from time to time and the nature of work that varies from place to place, they are merely interested in echoing the voice of others, copying phrases on the book, and conveying messages as transmitted. They do not understand that everything in the world is always on the move and never stops changing and developing. If no steps are taken to change this erroneous method of work and these erroneous ways of thinking or the old regulations, the principle of seeking truth from facts set by the Third Plenum would be violated and the possibility of thoroughly implementing the correct line formulated by the Third Plenum would be ruled out.

There are many reasons that one-sided views can easily assert themselves on our work, and a one-sided view is often challenged by another one-sided view as soon as it appears. This trend is either caused by social factors or by the people's approach to acquiring knowledge on objective reality which proceeds from part to whole and from shallow to deep. Human knowledge usually grows from a one-sided view of matters into an overall view because things that first come into view are static before their development and changes can be noted. If we regard our one-sided view of matters in a static state as something absolute and unchanging, a prejudice will easily hold sway. This is why we call one-sided views a reflection of the metaphysical concept of the universe. By using such views to observe problems, we may mistake part for whole and a point for an area; we may be able to know one thing but not many other things or one aspect of a contradiction but not other aspects or only a single contradiction but not many other related contradictions. By using such views to assess the party's policies, we will be unable to see clearly the continuity and stability of the basic principles and policies formulated by the Third Plenum. Nor can we correctly understand why logical and necessary steps should have been taken to change certain specific policies. A correct and perfect policy will gradually take shape as the people gradually gain perfect knowledge about objective matters and proceed to deepen such knowledge, which is supposed to be a continuing process going from part to whole and from shallow to deep. Any principle, policy or measure, however completely correct, may encounter problems in the course of its actual implementation. For example, speculations can be expected if no efforts are made to strengthen the control over the village trade fairs; the implementation of the system of responsibility for organizing joint ventures in production among individual workers and for the fixing of output quotas among the individual households may lead peasants to divide up the land and go it alone; if no measures are taken to strengthen leadership in this field; trees would be felled indiscriminately, if the leadership over the private plots distributed to commune members for growing trees are not strengthened to allow them to freely market their bamboos and timber. For this reason, only by upholding materialist dialectics and by applying advanced, coordinated and comprehensive views to observe the objective world can we avoid one-sidedness and strengthen our sense of responsibility to implement policies. Only in this way can we act promptly to prevent people from deviating from the correct course, and solve problems

Experiences tell us that it is very important to uphold the dialectical theory of two points. Only by taking into account the two points can we proceed to analyze them specifically and compare them and determine which point is more important. All talks will become pointless, if we fail to take into account the two points. If anyone chooses not to present and assess problems in this manner, he will find himself in a predicament resembling a man who always finds one of his feet bogged down in the quagmire while he struggles to pull the other out. Everything in the world has two faces. We must use two eyes to look at problems and two ears to hear opinions expressed by others. We must work out priorities in work on the basis of the assessment of the current situation and proceeding from reality. We must act differently at different times, in different places and under the different conditions. We must emphasize one point at a certain time and another point at another time. This approach is not only permissible but also necessary. Isn't it true that man must move his two arms and two feet alternately in order to inch forward steadily? But when we focus attention on one point, we must take into account the other point. We must strive to avoid overemphasizing one thing and neglecting another.

"Specific situations must be analyzed in concrete terms." This is the creative spirit of Marxism. In the course of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong inherited and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of dialectical analysis and summarization to take into account the actual conditions in China, regarding the "analytical method" as a "dialectical method" or a dialectical process of presenting and solving problems. Perceptual knowledge on matters can be acquired only through practice. The process of acquiring the necessary perceptual knowledge is a prerequisite for dialectical analysis and summarization to take place in the minds of people and it will lead them to understand the dialectical relationships between matters and to grasp their essence. Therefore, when we apply dialectics to guide work, we must remember this important rule: It is necessary to keep in close touch with reality and the masses, conduct surveys and investigations of the actual situation, learn the method of how to analyze, develop an analytical habit, apply materialist-dialectical methods to size up the situation, to deliberate on problems, and to do work so as to enable us to break the shackles of metaphysics in all forms.

In order to solve problems once and for all, we must step up our theoretical study, conscientiously read some books on philosophy, strive to make the materialist theory of knowledge prevail over the idealist method for acquiring knowledge, and use the comprehensive dialectical viewpoint to overcome the metaphysical one-sidedness. Only in this way can we deepen our understanding of the party's line, principles and policies and make a greater contribution to the grand objective of the four modernizations.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY'S ROLE IN BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DISCUSSED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 81 p 4

[Article by Liu Qian (2692 0241): "Initiative Is Needed in the Buildup of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] We are not going to build our socialist spiritual civilization from scratch. As citizens, we have common ideals, common moral principles and a common objective of struggle based on the system of the public ownership of the means of production. No capitalist country can have or can expect to have such spiritual civilization as we have inherited. Our party, devoted to realizing communism as the ultimate goal of its struggle, is an embodiment of this brand new spiritual civilization. Our party has cherished such spiritual civilizations as "the communist spirit of "wholehearted devotion to the public interests" and "devotion to the public interests at the expense of private interests," the spirit of "fearing neither hardships nor death" in the service of the revolution, and the militant spirit of "courageously facing up to and vanquishing all difficulties" during the past 60 years because they have repeatedly demonstrated a tremendous power in the course of our party's revolution and construction. Then what role should all our party members play today in order to carry forward our inherent spiritual civilization as a basis for building a high-level spiritual civilization?

First, we must remove and wash away the dust and dirt that have tarnished our spiritual civilization in order to make it appear more radiant in the eyes of people. The much-talked-about spiritual wounds caused by the 10 years of turmoil also tell of the contamination and destruction of our inherent spiritual civilization by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and other sinister characters. The impact of such wounds is so wide that it still exists today. In order to carry forward our inherent spiritual civilization, all our party members must act as vanguards in eliminating chaos and restoring order, and take initiative and practical action to remove and wash away the dust and dirt that has tarnished our spiritual civilization.

Second, we must study and have a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought so as to make Marxism a true pillar of our spiritual civilization. It was Marx and Engels who specifically defined the building of the spiritual civilization as a necessary requirement for realizing communism. Our socialist spiritual civilization resembles a towering building that cannot be constructed without the guidance of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. Recently, some people have openly introduced the notion of "settling accounts in every minute detail" into the ideological field. Some people have called the criticism of the terms "selfless devotion to the public interests" and "fear neither hardships nor death" and the

criticism of Lei Feng the "emancipation of the mind." Some even have praised devotion to private interests as a power that drives mankind forward. No one should assume that our socialist spiritual civilization can be built without encountering resistance and interference from the advocates of erroneous ideas. For this reason, it is very important to grasp and apply Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought as a guide in seeking correct answers to the aforementioned problems, to apply truth to overcome fallacy, so that our socialist spiritual civilization can develop in the correct direction.

Third, we must promote collectivism and have a firm faith in communism. This should be regarded as the soul of our socialist spiritual civilization and the starting point and ultimate objective of building the spiritual civilization. Collectivism and communism are the nuclei of the spiritual civilization we are going to build despite the fact that it can embody many things and can be expressed in many ways. The spiritual civilization we are going to build should not lead to the revival of anything that smacks of feudalism. Nor should it absorb the steadily declining and decadent Western spiritual civilization which ceased to make any progress long ago. The spiritual civilization we need must include moral education, political consciousness and a state of mind which are pervaded with the spirit of collectivism and communism. For this reason, we must promote collectivism and strengthen our conviction in communism as a step in broadening the prospect of developing the socialist spiritual civilization. Otherwise, if we weaken the strength of collectivism or waver in our faith in communism, it will certainly have an immediate adverse impact on the building of the spiritual civilization.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE SETS GOAL TO STRENGTHEN EDUCATION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 81 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Enhance the Education of Socialism, Patriotism and Collectivism"]

[Text] Based on the spirit of the CCP Central Committee's Work Conference and the actual conditions in our province, the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the CCP proposes to strengthen education in socialism, patriotism and collectivism among the masses. This is an important task of ideological and political work that faces us. An effective accomplishment of this education is of the greatest significance for an even more determined support of the four basic principles and a more perfect implementation of the party's political line, principles and policies.

Devoting much attention to the education of the masses in socialism, patriotism and collectivism has always been a fine tradition of our party in its ideological and political work. Whether during the years of revolutionary war or the period of socialist construction, the party launched well-targeted and concentrated education in the aforementioned three directions, based on the conditions and tasks of the time in question and starting out from the ideological reality of the masses. Through education, the spirit of patriotism and collectivism of the masses was promoted and their socialist consciousness raised, and as a consequence they became self-confident and willing to fight for the independence, liberation, prosperity, wealth and strength of the fatherland. At present, our country has entered a new era of socialist modernization. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has laid down a correct political line, correct principles and policies, rectified the "leftist" mistakes, effected step by step reforms in the political and economic structure and according to the national conditions of China embarked on the road of a Chinese-style socialist modernization. From its former seclusion from the world, our country has now opened itself up to international intercourse. In view of the foreign trade activities, our province has instituted special policies and versatile measures, and initiated a special economic district, so that foreign contacts have become more and more active, influences from foreign ideologies have increased and people have been confronted with many new conditions and new problems. Under these new conditions, and with the aim of mobilizing and inspiring the broad masses of the people, of uniting the whole people as one resolutely to implement the party's political line, principles and policies in this new era and have the people devote themselves fully to building up a modern, powerful, socialist country, we must strengthen the education in socialism, patriotism and collectivism among the masses.



Education in socialism is education of a basic nature. There is now a considerable number of people among the masses, especially among the youths, who have no understanding of what socialism is and of exactly what the superiorities of socialism are. In this respect we find two erroneous ways of thinking: One opinion stresses that since our country's economic development and the living standard of our masses cannot compare with those of developed capitalist countries, this is reason to belittle socialism and blindly envy capitalism, even going so far as to believe that socialism is not as good as capitalism. Another opinion regards with suspicion the road our country is taking in its Chinese-style socialist modernization and all the appropriate measures and policies, which our party, starting out from the national conditions of China, decided upon following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, it even regards these measures as "rightist" and "revisionist," and as deviating from the socialist road. To counter such conditions, we must strengthen socialist education among the masses, especially among youth. By drawing conclusions from the realities and through theoretically sound and convincing education, we shall help them clarify in their minds the differences between feudalism, capitalism, socialism and communism, so that what happened in the 10 years of turmoil will not happen again--feudal things are presented as socialist and socialist things are criticized as being capitalist. We must also not present the communist ideals which can be realized only in the future as something that can be achieved in the present stage of socialism.

Education in socialism must propagate in a practical and realistic way, with good reason and evidence, the superiorities and the glorious prospects of socialism and must reveal the dark side of capitalism. In judging the pros and cons of socialism and capitalism, we must not merely look at the present levels of production and living standards, but must analyze their historical and overall characteristics. The reasons why the developed capitalist countries have been able to reach their present levels of production and living standards are the results of developments extending over periods of 100, or even 200 and 300 years. They are also the results of brutal aggression against other countries and the large-scale, long-term and enormous plundering of the wealth produced by the sweat and toil of the colonial people. We, on the other hand, have been engaged in socialist construction for only 31 years, and besides we had to start out from a heap of junk. We also were determined to achieve our construction on the principles of firmly upholding our independence with the initiative in our own hands and of self-reliance in our construction. Moreover, though our material livelihood may not equal that of the capitalist countries, we are far superior in many other aspects, such as the political life, the cultural life and prevailing moral customs. We must also admit that in the course of our socialist construction in this huge country with its huge poverty-stricken population, without models or experiences to go by, we have had our share of reverses, but these cannot be blamed on the socialist system as such, but are due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and faults in the direction of our work. Although we have suffered serious setbacks, we have achieved great things during the 31 years of our construction. The economic development and the improvements in the livelihood of the people are much better than in other developing countries. We have already laid a strong and effective foundation for the development of industrial and agricultural production. Under the direction of the principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we shall certainly be able to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system and to achieve our aim of developing China into a modern, powerful, socialist state.

The education in socialism must link with realities in propagating the incomparable correctness of the party's political line, principles and policies following the 3d Plenary Session, to raise the consciousness of the masses in the implementation of these policies. It must explain that the whole set of policies presently adopted by our party is a socialist policy consistent with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, that it summarizes the good and bad experiences gained since the inception of our government and that it is a set of correct policies which will rectify the "leftist" mistakes. For instance, on the question of the ownership system, where we firmly adhere to the system of public ownership of the means of production, we do not believe in "the larger, the more communal, the better," or in "transition in poverty" and "stirring up a communist wind," as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did. Rather we want to have the production relations conform to the nature of the productive force and to allow several economic components to exist under the absolute predominance of the common ownership of socialism. With regard to distribution, we firmly adhere to the socialist principle of distribution according to work and shall rectify the egalitarianism and such stuff as "eating from one big pot," advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We shall not permit exploitation, but at the same time acknowledge differences that permit one sector of excellent workers to gain a certain prosperity before others. Furthermore, if we extend the autonomy of enterprises, we do not practice capitalist liberalism but bring rationalization to enterprise management, thus arousing the socialist enthusiasm in the enterprises and among the workers. If we promote the development of a commodity economy, we certainly do not develop capitalism, but strengthen and promote the development of the socialist economy in order to triumph over capitalism. If we institute various types of production responsibility systems in the countryside, including fixing of farm output quotas on the household basis, or "assignment of large production tasks" in economically backward areas, it is not a regression to individual farming but a starting out from the realities and adopting of a collective economy management system suited to the present stage of our country's agricultural productive force. Furthermore, if we allow all types of individual economies to exist and develop on condition that the socialist economy occupy a position of absolute superiority, this is certainly not capitalism, but merely a supplement to the socialist economy at its present stage. As to the operation of special economic zones, joint ventures using Chinese and foreign investments or allowing traveling traders to operate, we certainly understand that these things are not allowing foreign capitalism to return to control us, rather they are certain forms of making use of foreign capital on the principle of preserving our independence while keeping initiative in our hands and self-reliance in our undertakings. They are supplementary forms in our construction of socialism, fully controlled by our government. In short, all these policies are adopted to strengthen the foundation of our country's socialist economy and to quicken the pace of our socialist construction. They are a set of policies which conform with the national conditions and accord with the common aspirations of the people. They are policies that conform with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They are concrete expressions of scientific socialism. We shall strive unswervingly to implement this entire set of general and specific principles and advance along a socialist road which is well suited to our national conditions.

Patriotism is a huge spiritual power that has the broadest base among the masses. The overwhelming majority of Chinese, including overseas Chinese and compatriots

in Hong Kong and Macao, even though they hold different political convictions, are all agreed in their fervent love of our great fatherland. The Chinese nation has a glorious tradition of patriotism. However, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" practiced national nihilism and in actual fact rejected patriotism. They painted a pitch-dark picture of the history and culture of our fatherland and negatively assessed many outstanding Chinese historical personalities. All national culture was declared "poisonous weeds." Because the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in undermining patriotism has not yet been completely wiped out and because of certain corroding influences of decadent ideas that are difficult to evade in international intercourse, there are now some people who harbor a national inferiority complex and some individuals show a serious degree of slavish mentality toward all things foreign, blindly adoring foreign countries. For this reason we shall vigorously propagate patriotism, extol the history, culture and the beautiful rivers and mountains of our fatherland, sing the praises of the diligence, courage and intelligence of the Chinese people and praise the great achievements and glorious prospects of our socialist fatherland under the leadership of the CCP, so as to foster our national self-esteem, self-confidence and sense of pride and to wipe out all traces of a national inferiority complex or slavish mentality toward things foreign. Their patriotic mentality shall impel the broad masses of the people to unite and work with one heart and one mind for the realization of the four modernizations and a vigorous development of China.

Cultivation of a collectivist spirit is an element that socialist construction cannot do without. We are determined to strengthen education in collectivism among the masses, we shall advocate ardent affection for the collectives, show concern for the common aspirations, observe discipline, protect the collective interests and the good reputation of collectivism. The fervent love of socialism and the fervent love of the fatherland are nothing abstract, but are demonstrated first of all in cherishing the collective. Workers will love their own factory, peasants will love their own commune and production brigade, shop employees will love their own store, students will love their own school. We shall maintain a proper balance in the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual and will come to understand that if the state is managed well and the collective is managed well, these will be the sources of well-being for the individual, and one's individual interests must be consciously subordinated to the interests of the state and the collective. We must be adept at guiding the concern of the masses for the interests of the individuals toward the path of love for the country, love for the collective and realization of the four modernizations. Between collectives we shall launch socialist competitions and work toward creating advanced collectives. Every trade and occupation and every locality shall have its own advanced models.

Education in socialism, patriotism and collectivism is an important task set up by the provincial party committee. The party organizations at all levels must attach ample importance to this task, adopt effective measures and launch this education in a down-to-earth manner. This education is of the same nature as education in the four basic principles, education on the present situation and its tasks, education in communist ethics and education on the "five discussions" and "four beautiful things." All must be carried out in a well integrated manner. The ideological and political work must be strengthened overall to implement one step further the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and the Central Committee Work Conference.



## PARTY AND STATE

### THEORETICAL STUDIES EXPOSE ERRORS OF 'LEFTIST' THOUGHT

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 81 p 3

[Article by Shang Chen (1424 1820): "We Must Take the Guiding Function of Theoretical Studies Seriously"]

[Text] At present, leading organs and leading cadres in all areas, principally leading bodies at the county level and above, are conscientiously studying the documents of the Central Committee Work Conference and clearing away the influence of "leftist" thinking that has endured for years. Through exposing their manifestations, discussing the harm, and searching for the origins, people are casting off the fetters of "leftist" thinking and gradually deepening their understanding of the party line, general policy, and specific policies since the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee. To secure even greater results both in ideology and work, there must be additional stress to strengthening theoretical studies in connection with the clearing away of the influences of "leftist" thinking.

One reason for advocating the strengthening of theoretical studies is because the purpose of this clearing away is not to investigate individual responsibilities or to become entangled in history's old accounts, but to summarize historical experience and unify the ideological perceptions of the whole party. This will better uphold the four basic principles and more self-consciously implement the party's line, general policy, and individual policies since the Third Plenary Session and implement further readjustments in the economy, the policy of further peace and stability in politics, and lay down a firm foundation for steady progress in the four modernizations.

"Leftist" ideology and errors have persisted within the party for a very long time, and have formed a set of theories, viewpoints, policies, and systems, creating very great damage to the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts and confusing the thinking of many comrades. Through a period of clearing up, people will have an emotional perception of the manifestations and dangers of "leftist" ideology and a common language to apply to it. However, this is not the same as achieving true ideological unity. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Rational knowledge rests on emotional knowledge, and emotional knowledge has yet to be developed into rational knowledge; this is the epistemology of dialectical materialism." Only by a clear theoretical recognition of the reasons why "leftist" ideology is damaging to the revolution, the historical, social,



and ideological origins of it and the methods of overcoming it, will we be able to achieve a fundamental solution to the problem. To explain the problem even more clearly, there is no harm in looking back at the successful experience of the Yanan rectification of 1942. Because the Yanan rectification adopted the correct general policy, organically combining the elimination of errors of the Wang Ming leftist line with the study of Marxism-Leninism, the result was that not only was there a relatively thorough clearing away of influence of the Wang Ming line, there was an elevation of the level of Marxism-Leninism throughout the party, creating unprecedented political, ideological, and organizational unity of the party, establishing conditions for securing victory in the new democratic revolution. Now we should again view the clearing away of the influence of "leftist" ideology as a very good opportunity for study, employ this to raise the level of Marxism-Leninism of the whole party, and bring the party to a new unity and unification on a new foundation.

A second reason for advocating the strengthening of theoretical studies is that clearing away of "leftist" ideology demands a dependable weapon and a correct criterion.

Clearing away "leftist" ideology means that every question of the party's ideological guidance, each kind of problem in the actual work, must get a concrete analysis; we cannot lump everything under one "leftist" label, scatter it all to the winds at one strike, and again take up the old routine of "Be concerned with the superiors and keep contact with the subordinates," "Connect everything to the key link and the line." But we should emphasize the clarification of problems ideologically and theoretically, and take Marxism-Leninism as our criterion. Only on this foundation will we be able to determine whether to accept or reject something, uphold what should be upheld, and develop or discard what should be developed and discarded. Otherwise, it would be easy for one tendency to conceal another. For example, in clearing away the "leftist" error of blindly pursuing high speed, high norms, and high accumulation in the economic field, some individual localities could treat necessary speed, norms, and accumulation as "leftist," or "high," resulting in the phenomenon of norms not being met after a long time even though they are suitable. Again, after we had criticized spiritual universality and all those false, exaggerated, and empty "leftist" slogans, some people also denied and rejected the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle and revolutionary slogans that arouse the will to fight. This method of sticking on a "leftist" label without any further analysis is clearly wrong. If we are to avoid this kind of deviation, we must get in touch with our country's reality, study the tenets of Marxism with regard to scientific socialism in a down-to-earth manner, adopt a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, learn to distinguish clearly what is left and what is right. We must discriminate between those correct things that ought to be upheld, those "leftist" errors that ought to be corrected, and those "rightist" things that ought to be further resisted, overcome one-sidedness, prevent oversimplification, and make it known through numerous facts that the unchecked spread of "leftist" ideology often has something to do with the incorrectness of our way of thinking. Moreover, relatively speaking, we must manage a little better if we are to correct "leftist" errors in some policies and in actual work, and clear away leftist ways of thinking which is even more difficult. An effective

prescription to solve this problem must aim at our own weak points, study purposefully the Marxist law of the unity of opposites, master the ideology of one divides into two, and strive to arm our own brains with materialistic dialectic.

Recently one of the central leading comrades pointed out that we must promote study--we must study Marxism-Leninism conscientiously, and study the writings of Comrade Mao Zedong. There are now some persons issuing commentary, most of which looks only at the present, because they have no theoretical or practical foundations. Only by laying down a foundation can we really correct errors, including both "leftist" and rightist errors. What the central leading comrade said again emphasizes the importance of study, and it can be said that sincere words and earnest wishes are worth the deep thought of every comrade.

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CSO: 4005/628

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI PROVINCE HOLDS COUNTY-LEVEL DIRECT ELECTIONS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 81 p 3

[Article: "Voters in Our Province Actively Participate in County-Level Direct Elections"]

[Text] On 8 May, the seventh session of our province's Fifth People's Congress Standing Committee held a plenary session to hear a report from Wang Hao [3769 3185], deputy chairman of the provincial election committee and chief of the provincial Civil Affairs Bureau on the circumstances of our province's county-level direct elections.

In his report Wang Hao said that as of 25 April, 41 districts and counties had completed the election of delegates and called people's congresses; 11 counties and districts had elected delegates and were preparing to call people's congresses; 14 counties and districts were in the midst of their election work. The province has a total of 139 counties and 39 districts under municipal jurisdiction, and 79 counties and districts will complete their election work during the first half of this year, leaving 99 counties and districts that must begin the election work in the second half of the year.

Wang Hao said that on the basis of the circumstances throughout the province, our province has accomplished much in the election work; it is developing steadily, and there has been an accumulation of experience for carrying out all of the election work in the province.

Wang Hao said that we have secured the following principal gains in the course of the current elections:

1. The broad mass of voters have received a lesson in socialist democracy and the legal system, improving their knowledge of democratic elections and strengthening their sense of responsibility for their own affairs. In the course of the election, all areas conscientiously trained a large group of cadres, universally developed a propaganda movement to promulgate "election laws" and "local organization laws," and conduct education in socialist democracy and the legal system. Particularly in the course of nominating delegate candidates, we stressed the development of democracy and performance in strict accordance with the law. Leaders on various levels were not permitted to place restrictions or set the tone; the democratic rights of the voters were earnestly protected, upholding the nomination of delegate candidates from top to bottom; and the accomplishments

of the candidates were described so that through repeated back and forth exchanges of views and democratic consultation, candidates were determined in accordance with the views of the majority of the voters. We uphold the conducting of an election between candidates with differing views and election of delegates. Many voters said happily that this election was truly held in accordance with law, and the people are really masters in their own home.

2. The masses of cadres strengthened their ideology of serving the people with all their hearts and souls, and improved their style. Through democratic elections, the individual leading cadres must all go to the people, accept assessment and education from the voters, be praised for their accomplishments, and be criticized for their deficiencies and errors. Many cadres report that the eyes of the masses are mirrors, democratic election is a sieve, and this is a testing through the widespread ideas of the people. They recognize that the people are the masters of the nation and the cadres are the public servants of the people, they are not appointed for life, nor do they have an iron rice bowl, so if they serve the people poorly, the people have the right to defeat, or to recall them. Elected cadres feel the confidence of the people, and this raises even higher their ideology of wholehearted service to the people, so they work actively and better.

3. It has strengthened the political power structure, and made the relationship between the government and the masses more intimate.

After each area has selected delegates, following thorough preparation, a people's congress is called to examine and summarize the work of the higher government level, listen widely to the ideas of the masses, and elect a Standing Committee for their own level people's congress as well as leading persons for the people's government, the people's courts, and the people's procuratorate. This has given new and substantial improvements to the county and district political power. The new leading bodies are even more capable, their cultural and professional knowledge is higher, their age is lower, and many of the new leading cadres spring from the masses, so the relationship between the government and the masses is even more intimate.

4. It has encouraged peace and unity, and has motivated activist elements on all sides.

In the election, all areas universally propagandize on the nature of our country's political power, propagandize that the people's congress must be representative, extensive, and progressive, and advocate that it be composed of representatives from all sides. In areas where nationalities are mixed, they pay attention so that each minority nationality has a suitable quota of delegates. In minority autonomous counties, they first pay attention to see that there is a comparable quota of nationality delegates to carry out self-government of the nationality region, then they propagandize the election of nationality delegates to undertake principal leadership duties and the implementation of the nationalities policies. In the process of nominating candidates, there were many cases of party members yielding to nonparty members, cadres yielding to the masses, and Han Chinese yielding to minority nationalities to be selected as candidates.



Each area compiles a list of voters, and those who were stripped of political rights in the past are subjected to examination and appraisal, with voting rights conferred in accordance with law on all those who have reformed. The implementation of this policy motivates the activist spirit of these people, transforming negative elements into positive elements.

Wang Hao said that the distinguishing features of the new "election law" are concentrated and manifested in the two areas of nomination of candidate delegates and leading body candidates from top to bottom and the conducting of an election between those with differing views. This is the concrete embodiment of socialist democracy, the concrete embodiment of the democratic centralist system; it is the democratic requirement of the broad masses, and it represents the development and perfection of the democratic system. In electoral practice, when candidates are selected from top to bottom, go through repeated discussion and democratic consultation, are decided upon in accordance with the opinions of most of the voters or delegates, and elected in a conscientious exercise of differences, the election will be successful and the masses will be satisfied. When the leadership takes everything on itself, places restrictions, sets the tone, even directs and restricts selection, the masses will have much to say and many objections, even lodging complaints with the superiors or giving rise to disturbances. Therefore, we should obtain a high degree of knowledge of the law on this question and operate in strict accordance with the law, as this is the key to success or failure in democratic elections.

Wang Hao pointed out that although there had been some relative accomplishment in county-level direct elections in our province, many problems had occurred and still exist. In some areas the leadership has insufficient knowledge of election work and does not take it seriously, revealing that the leadership has no power. In individual counties, because planning was not thorough, preparation was insufficient, and there was no power to solve the problems that developed, the election work was cut off in mid-course. In some counties, the commune's leading bodies had just recently been elected, and were immediately transferred; some counties drew the election districts for organs directly subordinate to the county too small, so that a few score voters were selecting one or two delegates. With regard to these problems, although some occurred through lack of experience and were quickly corrected, we should know that they are violations of the "election law" and "organization law," and we must bear in mind that they should not be violated in the future.

The future tasks of our province's county-level direct election work are still relatively arduous. Leadership on all levels must take this very seriously and strengthen their leadership. Units in our rural areas that have not yet held elections should make thorough ideological and organizational preparations prior to the middle 10 days of October, 1981, do all they can beginning in the last 10 days of October, provide sufficient strength, go all out in motivating the masses, develop democracy completely, and operate in strict accordance with law, to complete our province's county, district, commune, and village election tasks well from start to finish.

## PARTY AND STATE

### MODERNIZATION CALLS FOR INDOMITABLE SPIRIT

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 81 p 1

[Article by Wang Zhixiang [3769 1807 3276]: "'Competitive' Spirit Should Be Promoted"]

[Text] Those who pledge a contribution to the realization of the four modernizations must give full play to the "competitive" spirit. The term "competition" here means "seizing every crucial moment," racing against time and competing for speed. "Competition" also means "vying with each other for achievements," striving for the position of the advanced units and aiming high. "Competition" reflects a new spirit in this new historical period.

In "competition," one must first of all exhibit confidence in winning victory, and must foster lofty ideals, aim high, break with the world outlook of the cowardly and lazy people who sit idly by doing nothing and firmly uphold the belief in the ultimate realization of the four modernizations. One must also believe that the present tortuous road will lead to a bright future. One must see difficulties and try to overcome them in every possible way instead of being scared.

In "competition," one must have a sense of urgency. Years and months run as fast as the running waters in the rivers, so one must keep pace with time, and bring into full play their subjective initiative, seize every crucial moment, compete for speed and race against time. With a sense of urgency, one must go all out to get jobs done well. The cycle of 24 hours a day and 365 days a year is unchangeable. But to those who aim high, it can be changed. They can redouble their efforts to finish in 1 day work that normally takes 2 days to complete and accomplish in 1 year something that usually takes 2 years to conclude. They believe that one man has the potential of doing two men's job. If everyone can exhibit this competitive spirit, we can certainly build a modern socialist power through competition.

High standards must be set for "competition." Chairman Mao once taught us to go all out and aim high. We must vie with each other, aim high and strive for high standards. However, some comrades have placed low demands on work. Although they are interested in competition and contest, they always end competitions and contests with this remark: "Although we are not comparable to those at the top, we are better than those at the bottom."

Ours is an era in which an indomitable fighting spirit and a hard working spirit capable of getting more jobs done on a solid basis are required if we want to do our level best to invent and create something new and make progress.

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### VICE PREMIER HAILS SUCCESS IN SMASHING ROBBERY RING

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Mar 81 p 1

[Article: "Public Security Units Deal Blows to an Armed Robbery Ring"]

[Text] Under the direct guidance of the Ministry of Public Security and the Shanxi Provincial Department of Public Security, and as a result of a heroic struggle, the Linfen Prefectural Public Security Organ recently relied on the masses to solve two cases of firearms theft and two cases of armed robbery. On 7 March, this organ was commended by the masses for arresting five criminals including Chen Fenyang [7115 3083 7122] and bringing them to justice.

On 15 and 16 January of this year, two cases of firearms theft occurred one after another in Linfen Municipality. Among the firearms stolen were 1 "54-type" pistol, 1 small caliber rifle and 800 or more bullets. On 21 January at nearly 9 pm, the grocery retail sales department of the Yaomiao Supply and Marketing Cooperative in Linfen Municipality was robbed of 9 wrist watches, over 6,000 feet of cloth, and 60 yuan in cash by armed bandits who bound 4 workers with ropes while they held up the cooperative. On 30 January after 9 pm, criminals toting pistols, small caliber rifles and old bayonets robbed the Langquan Credit Cooperative of Xiangfen County. While holding up the cooperative, they bound 8 workers with ropes, wounded 1 of them with a gunshot and destroyed and opened a safe before they fled with over 6,000 yuan in cash, plus computers and wrist watches. The four major criminal cases occurred one after another in half a month. Their occurrence has caused serious damage, posed a threat to the lives and property of the people and government, and placed the process of political stability and economic readjustment in jeopardy there. It has also aroused very serious attention from the Shanxi Provincial party and government leaders. A strong task force consisting of elements from Linfen Municipality and County and Xiangfen County public security units was promptly organized by the Linfen Prefectural Public Security Office to deal with these cases, in coordination with personnel sent by the Ministry of Public Security and the Shanxi Provincial Public Security Office. As a result of a thorough and careful investigation of the scenes of the crimes, technical tests and interviews, the investigators came up with this conclusion that the four crimes were jobs done by a single ring of criminals. Then a unified command was organized to deal with the cases.

In order to grasp every crucial moment and bring the cases to a speedy conclusion, the investigators neglected sleep and meals and worked day and night with a revolutionary spirit with fear of neither hardships nor death and combated crimes without

letup. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with them were leading comrades of the Linfen Prefectural Public Security Office. In the course of investigation, they kept in close touch with the masses, examined clues, held nearly 100 forums, interviewed nearly 1,000 people, read and examined over 1,400 related documents, and reviewed over 100 clues. With the investigation proceeding at an accelerated pace, the masses were widely mobilized to set up traps in the shopping centers, hotels and movie theaters where the criminals might visit or hide. Eventually, one day, the criminals revealed their whereabouts. The investigators immediately followed the reports of the grapevine to their catch. From irrefutable evidence based on careful investigations, they concluded that the crimes were committed by Chen Fenyang and Wei Jinshong [7614 6651 1813], workers of the Linfen Prefectural Command for the Diversion of Waters from the Qin River to the Fen River; Ren Wei [0117 0251], worker of the Linfen Municipal Oxygen Manufacturing Plant; Li Weijun [2621 4850 6511], commune member of Qicun Brigade of Langquan Commune in Xiangfen County; and Chen Jinyang [7115 2516 7122], a temporary worker of the Linfen Prefectural Hospital. On 7 March, in close coordination with the Ministry of Public Security and the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, the public security personnel moved to arrest the 5 suspected criminals including Chen Fenyang at the Beijing Railway Station, and in Linfen, Anze and Xiangfen Counties and recaptured 1 pistol, 1 small caliber rifle, 71 bullets, 1 old bayonet, wrist watches, cash and clothes they had stolen before. In the face of such irrefutable evidence, they confessed the commission of crimes, thus giving the public a true picture of how they committed the four crimes.

On the afternoon of 7 March, Vice Premier Yu Qiuli of the State Council who is also a member of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee appeared at the Beijing Railway Station to commend and encourage some of the public security personnel who participated in the smashing of this criminal ring.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### KUOMINTANG SPIES ARRESTED IN GUANGDONG

Guangzhou NANGFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 81 p 1

[Article: "Guangdong Province Deals Blows to Kuomintang Espionage Activities"]

[Text] With the active assistance of the broad masses of people, public security organs in Guangdong Province recently smashed a number of Kuomintang espionage attempts, and arrested a number of agents sent by the Kuomintang along with their locally recruited agents in accordance with the law, thus dealing a telling blow to the enemy secret service agency's subversive conspiracy.

Since the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued a "Message to Taiwan Compatriots," large numbers of compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and other parts of the world have responded promptly by taking an active part in various related activities and programs aimed at accelerating the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland under the patriotic united front.

Yet, the Kuomintang secret service agency has never stopped its subversive activities in response to this message. Acting against the common aspirations of the people throughout the country to realize the reunification of the motherland, it has sent spies deep into the interior of Guangdong Province, to gather information, and expand its organization there at a time when our relations with foreign countries have developed rapidly and visitors coming to and leaving our country are on the increase. While there, they launched reactionary propaganda campaigns, with the aim of deceiving people, creating controversies, disturbing social order and undermining public security, and hampering the four modernizations program. Before the opening of the "12th National Congress of Kuomintang," the Kuomintang secret service agency continued to send and sneak a number of spies into the interior of this province. From there, they mailed out a so-called "letter of congratulations" to the "12th National Congress of Kuomintang" under the name of undercover spies, a letter prepared beforehand to arouse the public's attention and expand its reactional propaganda activities. On 21 January of this year, the Guangzhou municipal public security organ arrested Zhong Jiefu (6945 2638 1133), a spy sent from outside. He had worked for the enemy secret service agency since 1979. Since then, he has sneaked his way into Guangzhou twice to gather economic and military information. In mid-January of this year, Zhong returned again in the interior of this province as a "tourist" in order to gather information on the trial of the "gang of four," economic readjustment and other matters of interest. He mailed out two secret letters to the enemy secret service

agency, "congratulating" the convocation of the "12th National Congress of Kuomintang." Yan Minghui [0917 2494 6540] was another enemy spy sent from outside. He was smuggled out of Hong Kong in 1972 and joined the enemy secret service organization in October 1979. Since then, he has visited our province five times in order to recruit Qiu Jingrong [6726 2529 2837], a worker of a certain plant in Shaoguan Municipality, as a secret service agent and to arrange his delivery of reports to the enemy secret service agent and to arrange his delivery of reports to the enemy secret service agency on several occasions. Agent Yan arrived in the interior of this province again on 7 February of this year so that he could mail out from Guangzhou Municipality a "letter" to the enemy secret service agency congratulating the "12th National Congress of Kuomintang" and reestablish contact with spy Qiu Jinghui and make arrangements for him to fulfill certain missions. In mid-February, both Yan and Qiu were arrested by the Shaoguan Municipal Public Security Bureau after investigators searching Qiu's home turned up some letters of instructions from the enemy secret service agency brought in by Yan through Hong Kong, and other evidence of crimes.

After arriving in the interior of our province, these enemy spies, sent in from outside, contacted their relatives and friends extensively in an attempt to win their support. While carrying out reactionary propaganda activities, they used material incentives to lure their relatives and friends to expand the enemy secret service organization. Such espionage conspiracies were immediately exposed by the awakening masses and were voluntarily brought to the attention of the public security organs. Despite this, there were still some individuals who joined the enemy secret service organization at the urging of spies sent from outside and chose the counterrevolutionary road either because they were under the influence of the reactionary ideology or because they could not resist the lures of the material comforts. Feng Cuifang [7458 5050 5364] was a spy sent from outside. In 1979, she sneaked her way into the interior of this province on a mission assigned by the enemy secret service agency. During this trip, she set up a meeting in Guangzhou with her nephew Feng Chongde [7458 1504 1795], a worker of a knitwear mill in Xinhui County, and later adopted him as her son. After joining the enemy secret service organization at her urging, Feng Chongde used assumed names, coded numbers and secret letters to facilitate his delivery of intelligence reports to the enemy secret service agency. For this service, he received some money funding his espionage activities. These two spies were arrested by the Jiangmen Municipal Public Security Bureau early last March when Feng Cuifang revisited the interior of this province for a meeting with Feng Chongde.

The public security organs in our province are presently continuing to pay close attention to the activities of the Kuomintang secret service agency, and keep a vigilant eye on them in order resolutely to deal blows to its subversive plots and to preserve the political situation of stability and unity and insure success in the four modernizations program.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

**MILITIA WEAPONS STOLEN**--At midnight of 22 September 1980, a serious case of fire-arms theft occurred in Sanjing Commune of Kelan County. On that night, the criminals broke into the office building of the people's Armed Forces Department and made away with 1 carbine, 1 automatic rifle and 926 bullets along with other items of value, thus creating a serious hidden threat to the social order and the lives and property of the people. This case of the theft of militia weapons resulted entirely from the failure of some leading cadres of the commune and its people's Armed Forces Department to control the weapons in accordance with related regulations set by the higher authorities, and from their lack of mental alertness and sense of responsibility. Zhang Jianhua [1728 1696 5478], director of the commune people's Armed Forces Department, deliberately violated the related regulations set by the higher authorities when he ordered Nanshan Brigade to return seven rifles to the commune and store them in his office without authorization, thus causing one of them to be stolen. He was also held responsible for allowing another firearm--a carbine to be stolen because he failed to return it to the militia company of Guhe Brigade after borrowing it from there over 4 months ago. On the morning of 19 September, he attended a telephone conference on public security and control of militia weapons called by the county party committee for the mid-autumn festival. After the adjournment of the conference, he failed to report promptly its guidelines to the commune leadership. He delayed the submission of the minutes of the telephone conference to Deputy Secretary Wang Zhenbang [3769 2182 4382] until noon of the following day or shortly before taking a day off to spend time with his family during the mid-autumn festival. Before going home, he also failed to suggest to his superiors that special measures must be taken to safeguard these weapons stored in his office. At that time, all commune cadres took a day off to enjoy the festival at their homes with their families. There was only one person on duty to take care of the office building. Even when this situation was noticed, Shen Qiaotang [3947 0195 1016], chairman of the commune revolutionary committee and deputy secretary of the commune party committee, took no precautionary measures to prevent the theft of weapons that was to occur late that evening, before he, too, went home to spend the festival with his family. Shen Qiaotang was the authority in charge of commune affairs. Ren Bingyi [0117 0014 5030], instructor of the party branch of the people's Armed Forces Department in charge of militia work, and deputy secretary of the commune party committee, must also be held responsible for what happened. After the theft of weapons occurred, personnel were organized by the county party committee to investigate this criminal case. Timely action was also taken to organize investigators to examine the circumstances and pin down the responsibility. The county party committee also held a meeting to discuss conscientiously the commune party committee's

proposal on how to handle the case. Following a deliberation and with the approval of the Xinxian Prefectural Party Committee and Administrative Office, a decision has been made by the Kelan County Party Committee to dismiss Comrade Zhang Jianhua from office as director of the people's Armed Forces Department and member of the commune party committee, and to admonish and reprimand Comrades Shen Qiaotang and Ren Bingyi for committing administrative mistakes. [Text] [Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 81 p 1] 9574

POWERLINE SABOTAGED--With the strong assistance of local people, the public security departments of Linfen Prefecture and Huoxian County recently cracked a serious criminal case of sabotage of a high-voltage power transmission line. Six criminals including Yang Wenhui [2799 2429 2585] and Hou Baocheng [0186 0202 2052] have been arrested and brought to justice by the Huoxian County Public Security Bureau. Between 25 January and 12 February of this year, 6 members of Yangjiazhuang Commune of Huoxian County including Yang Wenhui and Hou Baocheng worked on 3 different occasions on a 220-volt high-voltage power transmission line between Huoxian and Changzhi Counties in the neighborhood of Xinahi Commune. In addition to cutting down 14 meters of drawn wire, they cut off drawn wire from an iron tower at its southeast side, thus causing it to become unbalanced and fall to the ground on 12 February. Then a power outage followed throughout the transmission line area. The power supply was not restored until the evening of 16 February after a force was organized by the Southeast Shanxi Power Company to repair the power transmission system on a crash basis. This incident disrupted the power supply for 98 hours and 16 minutes, causing a loss of 3.5 million kilowatt/hours and an economic loss of 275,000 yuan. [Text] [Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 81 p 1] 9574

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### LITERATURE EXPRESSING SPIRIT OF TIMES URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by special commentator: "Literature and Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] Literature is a part of the spiritual civilization of the society of mankind, producing a wide and profound influence in the spiritual realm with rich and colorful images. The socialist modernization construction currently in progress in our country aims at a high degree of spiritual civilization as well as a high degree of material civilization. In the process of building a high degree of spiritual civilization, the socialist literature shoulders an arduous yet great historical responsibility. Realizing this historical responsibility and consciously and firmly and indomitably adding bricks and tiles to the mansion of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization constitute the unshirkable duty of each and every writer and artist.

To develop its proper effect in the building of a high degree of spiritual civilization, the socialist literature must correctly understand and reflect our times and strive to express the spirit of the era.

At the 1980 forum on play writing, Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 3613 6721] cited the words of Lu Xun [7627 6598], the great pioneer of China's proletarian literature: "Literature is the flame of the national spirit and also the light illuminating its future." This thesis clearly explains the relationship between literature and the spirit of the times and the position and role of literature in the building of a spiritual civilization. The spirit of the times refers to the spirit pushing history forward. In terms of ideology, the building of a high degree of a socialist spiritual civilization is to widely spread the communist consciousness, ideals, ethics and values among the members of society and generally establish the revolutionary standpoints and principles and the comradely relationship among men. Same as building a high degree of material civilization, the building of such a high degree of spiritual civilization is a process of the development of history and the accumulation of generations. Only when the socialist literature reflects the spiritual flame of the country and the people, while also serving as the spiritual light, leading the people to ever higher spiritual planes, loftier ideals and nobler revolutionary qualities and styles before it can fulfill the role of pushing our history forward.

Where do we find the flame of our era? Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that we should look for it mainly in five factors. They are the party, the socialist system, the people performing manual and mental labor, the People's Liberation Army, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought which guide the progress of our cause. In this socialist country of ours, due to the destruction of the exploiting system and the creation of the production means public ownership system, due to the profound influence of the ideology with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the theoretical foundation, due to the tempering of the masses and their army under the party's leadership through the long revolutionary struggles, and due to the examples set by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and a large group of progressives, a tremendous change has occurred in people's spiritual state. The historical level attained by it has surpassed the entire capitalist world. The spirit of firmly believing in the victory of socialism and communism and courageously sacrificing oneself for the goal, the spirit of starting from reality and seeking the truth from the facts, the spirit of selflessness and placing others before oneself, the spirit of overcoming all enemies and all difficulties, fearing neither hardship nor death, the spirit of uniting as one, considering the overall situation, struggling arduously and relying on oneself, etc. are the most valuable spirits of our country and our people. Though they suffered severe damages in the 10-year calamity, they have not vanished. Under the new historical conditions, vigorously restoring and developing such valuable spirits and vigorously healing the spiritual traumas of the "Great Cultural Revolution" constitute the glorious task of the entire ideological front, including literature. Failing to vigorously express the spirit of our times, but enthusiastically spreading despondency and sorrow, and even decadence and hopelessness, and actually using the "freedom" of literature and "democracy" of art as the grounds for gaining the "legitimate" right to spread such things which are incompatible with the spirit of the socialist era do not constitute the solemn standpoint and attitude of the socialist literature.

History shows that all writers and works making important contributions to the development of the spiritual civilization of mankind were entered into the books of history because of their accurate revelation of the spirit of the times. With its broad tableaux, Homer's Epic reflected the political, economic and military conditions of the Greek society advancing from the primitive commune system to the slave system and the spiritual state of hero worship accompanying the infancy of mankind; therefore, it became "the main legacy of the Greeks progressing from savagery to civilization," and the Greek history of this period is known as the "Homer period." "The end of the feudal Middle Ages and the beginning of modern capitalism was symbolized by a great figure. This figure was the Italian Dante. He was the last poet of the Middle Ages and the first of the new era." His "Divine Comedy" boldly revealed the evils of the feudal aristocrats and religious control, criticized the obscurantism of the Middle Ages and appealed to people to "seek virtue and knowledge." It was the inception of the capitalist spiritual civilization. Lu Xun, the greatest and bravest standard-bearer of China's cultural new army after the "4 May" Movement, profoundly criticized the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old ideology and old culture, widely spread the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal

revolutionary spirit, and produced an important impact on the building of China's modern spiritual civilization. In the new era of the socialist construction, our proletarian literature, which has undergone 60 plus years of struggle practice under the guidance of Marxism, should more consciously reflect the styles and features of our times, educate and encourage the people with socialism and communism, and impel them to build a beautiful socialist new life with a hundredfold confidence.

Literature, through imagery, reflects life and educates people on aesthetics. Social life is rich and colorful and artistic imagery is also variegated. When we say that literature must express the spirit of the times, we do not mean that it should serve as a simple megaphone. Precisely as stated by Comrade Zhou Enlai, "the spirit of the times is not equivalent to presenting the party resolutions on the stage. One must not interpret the spirit of the times entirely as the party's policies and resolutions." Asking literature to write about one theme and portray one model for the purpose of expressing the spirit of the times is doubtlessly in violation of the law of art and detrimental. The practice of mechanically diagramming the political tasks by demanding that all literature and art "write about the center," "perform about the center" and "paint the center" must never be advocated again. But this does not mean that we should not demand that literature portray the pioneering images in the socialist modernization construction.

The four modernization construction is the main theme of China's social life in the new era and the most magnificent cause in its history of civilization. The pioneers of the four modernization construction and the socialist new persons emerging in the process of this construction constitute the nucleus of this great history activity. They exert themselves for the purpose of changing our country's economic and technological backwardness; they explore new spiritual realms for the purpose of emancipation from the old ideology and old culture; their indomitable struggle and their spirit of self-sacrifice in the interest of the people embody the concrete and historical unity of the true, the beautiful and the good. They should be given their proper places in the realm of revolutionary realism. Marx said: "Artistic objects create the public which can understand art and appreciate beauty--it is the same with any other product. Therefore, production produces not only the object for the subject, but also the subject for the object." The more typical images of the pioneers of the four modernization construction and the new persons of socialism literature portrays, the more it will stimulate the initiative of the masses to create history and produce a relatively great impact on the building of the spiritual civilization.

It is incorrect to feel that, since literature will no longer serve politics and be subordinate to it in the future, we should not make any demand of it, such as asking it to reflect the spirit of the times, to build the spiritual civilization, etc. When it is said that literature will not serve politics and be subordinate to it, we should understand it as rectifying and preventing the "leftwing" and narrow interpretation of the relationship between literature and politics and avoiding flagrant interferences, because such erroneous interpretation and practice indeed created an unfavorable influence on the development



of literature. However, it absolutely does not indicate that it is permissible for literature to sever itself from politics or for writers to have no political responsibility feeling; nor does it indicate that it is permissible for literature not to reflect the four modernization construction or the spirit of the times. We must never support the view of some people that the further apart literature is from politics, the better it is. The politics mentioned by us is the politics of the masses, of the class. Apart from it, we will deviate from the direction of serving the people and socialism.

Nor can the view that, as the four modernization construction is just beginning and the emphasis of work has just shifted, it is premature to portray the images of the four modernization builders, withstand scrutiny. Indeed, it has not been long since the four modernization construction was made into the emphasis of the work of the entire party, but everyone knows that our socialist construction began immediately after the founding of the new China. The struggle deeds of the workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals and of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation contributing to this great cause constitute the rich source material for the artistic portrayal of the pioneers of the modernization construction. In recent years, the progressive figures on all fronts emerged in an endless stream. The basic law of literary typification also tells us that certain things, even if rare in life, have the potential of becoming typical images if they reflect the essence and tendency of matters. Though the socialist new people and the advanced figures of the four modernization construction total but a small number in life, the struggles waged by them represent the demand of historical progress. Enthusiastically extolling them and guiding people to learn from them, living and struggling like them, constitute the noble mission assigned to literature by history.

For literature to make positive contributions to the building of a high degree of spiritual civilization, we must uphold the four basic principles and continue to purge the "leftwing" influence. As a sector of the superstructure, literature has its essence of independence. However, similar to all other sectors, it cannot be independent of the four basic principles. As proved by our history of several thousand years, literature which is not subject to the guidance of any principle basically does not exist. To discard all principles is also a sort of "principle." It is the tenet of bourgeois liberalism, nihilism and anarchism. The bourgeoisie flaunts "absolute freedom" of its literature and art and all other endeavors. However, precisely as pointed out by Lenin, its "theories on absolute freedom are merely a sort of hypocrisy." "The freedom of bourgeois writers, artists and performers is merely a kind of mask (or disguise) of their dependence on the wallet, on bribery or on being kept." Spiritual civilization has its class essence. The four basic principles should serve as the party essence of the proletarian literature. Apart from their guidance, literature can only regress, not progress. If literature itself is not so civilized, it will be out of the question for it to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization.

What calls for our attention is that there are certain alarming similarities between the words and acts in society today attempting to cast off the four basic principles, such as wrangling for "freedom" and "democracy" from the



party, seeking to break away from its lines and leadership, and even demanding the "freedom" to attack it and the socialist system, and the things advocated in the "Great Cultural Revolution," such as "it is right to rebel," "kick aside the party committee to prosecute the revolution," etc. The existence of this phenomenon indicates to us the obstinacy of "leftwing" things, the arduousness and urgency of purging the remnant "leftwing" poison, and the necessity to wage a firm struggle against it. Meanwhile, we must, by means of study, education, and criticism and self-criticism, conscientiously wipe out the "leftwing" influence in the literary ranks and promote the elevation of the entire spiritual civilization with the civilization of literature itself.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Material civilization and spiritual civilization are mutually linked. Material wealth and material civilization lay the foundation and supply the source for spiritual wealth and spiritual civilization, while the latter, in turn, promote the development of the former. They are interdependent and mutually promotive." By correctly understanding the dialectic relationship between spiritual civilization and material civilization and closely linking literature with the building of a high degree of spiritual civilization, thereby consciously heeding the people's call and consciously adjusting to the stride of the historical progress, our literature will make contributions worthy of the era to the building of a spiritual civilization.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CONTROVERSIES LOOM BEFORE SIXTH PLENUM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 5, 1 May 81 pp 7-9

[Article by Lo Bing [5012 0393]: "Controversies Before the Sixth Plenum"]

[Excerpts] Why Convening Has Been Delayed

Last winter the Chinese Communist Party decided to convene the Sixth Plenum early this year, but before March they changed this decision.

On 23 February, in talk with Yuan Baohua [5913 1405 5478] and other leadership members of the Economic Commission, Wan Li [5502 6849] said this:

"The Central Committee has already decided to delay the opening of the Twelfth Congress and the Sixth Plenum, and also to delay discussion on resolutions concerning certain historical questions so that the entire party can devote its energies to the economic readjustment work ahead of us."

In this talk, Wan Li demanded that the Economic Commission and the Planning Commission do a good job of assigning economic readjustment work.

There is absolutely no question but that the Chinese Communist Party regards economic readjustment as its first priority and central task. This March, on an inspection trip to Tianjin, Zhao Ziyang's main purpose was to get a grip on Tianjin's economic readjustment. He clearly said that China could not take the old economic construction path of the past, but had to take the path of high benefit economic construction and adopt the policy of simple [economic] structure. At the same time, he also said that the ideological situation at present among cadres was "better in rural areas than in the cities, better at the grassroots than among the leadership and better in the hinterlands than in Beijing." He gave his specific views on agriculture, industry, commerce, foreign trade and innovation one by one. A friend from Tianjin who heard Zhao Ziyang's talk told me that Zhao Ziyang was a man with a work style that is characterized by practical and positive action. His "Tianjin speech" was relayed to the National Light Industry Bureau Chiefs meeting which was held recently. Now, leadership bodies everywhere are also getting the speech.

## Economic Plans Are Slow in Coming

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has two decisions which even better reflect the high seriousness with which the Chinese Communist Party regards economic readjustment. One decision is the "movement" which has been launched among cadres throughout the country to study Chen Yun's [7115 7189] economic thought. There are three books which must be studied: 1. a collection of discussions on economic questions by Marx, Lenin, et al.; 2. "Selected Writings of Comrade Chen Yun;" and 3. Xue Muqiao's [5641 2550 2890] "On Certain Questions of China's Economy at Present."

The other decision was to clear out leftist influence from economic work. On 9 April RENMIN RIBAO carried a piece "Correct Guiding Ideology of Economic Work," which was the first time in several years that the Chinese Communist Party criticized Mao Zedong's overall economic thinking. This article was based on a revision of a talk Chen Yun gave at a Central Committee Work Conference.

These two decisions by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party are actually two sides of the same thing. Criticizing the left (criticizing Mao's leftist economic thinking), then studying Chen, while studying Chen one is criticizing the left. Breaking down and setting up, setting up and breaking down. From a leftist perspective, Chen Yun's economic thought is rightist, but in theory and practice, Chen Yun's economic thought stands firmly and can withstand testing. The preface of "Selected Writings of Comrade Chen Yun" says, "Throughout the period when he was in charge of finance work, Comrade Chen Yun maintained and applied concretely the principle of seeking truth from facts, and in his personal behavior correctly guided China's socialist construction.... On many important questions of socialist construction, Comrade Chen Yun gave his views and opinions. At the time some of them were adopted and put into practice, but some were not adopted and some were even misunderstood and criticized. Yet history proves that his viewpoints and ideas at that time were correct and feasible, and also it now appears that they are still correct and feasible. In Beijing, many people have an applicable viewpoint: If, for the past 30 years, we had done things according to Chen Yun's economic thinking and not according to Mao Zedong's, China's economy would be very different. This is one side. The other side is: After the fall of the gang of four from power, because there was still some leftist influence, Chen Yun's economic views were not implemented in time and have only recently gained "thorough rehabilitation," otherwise the present economic situation would be even better. Of course, the policies and measures proposed by Chen Yun, are not necessarily perfect, and within the Chinese Communist Party there are those with other ideas. Some people think that Chen's thinking is a little conservative.

The use of Chen Yun's economic thinking to guide economic reconstruction has just now taken the first steps. How to do a good job in this work, how to unify understanding of the whole party? We believe this is an enormous task. To formulate new economic plans in the light of this thinking and the present situation we believe also presents many problems. Under these circumstances, the Chinese Communist Party and high ranking officials will certainly be very busy. The Sixth Plenum may discuss new economic plans which are slow in coming.

## There Are Disputes Over the Hua Question

However, some friends in Beijing who are well informed and very observant feel that the first issue to be decided by the Sixth Plenum is Hua Guofeng's transfer and Hu Yaobang's promotion.

This issue was already resolved. Last November, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Work Conference opened its heavy artillery against Hua Guofeng, the representative of the leftist thinking, and Hua's position as chairman was actually no longer secure; Hu Yaobang had been selected to replace him. But, within the Chinese Communist Party, there is a minority which has a different view of Hua Guofeng's transfer. Some people feel that Hua Guofeng rendered meritorious service in the overthrow of the gang of four and if the meritorious service cannot be discounted, the position cannot be reduced. Some point out that the Hua Guofeng question should not be resolved with undue haste.

Furthermore, there are others who have doubts as to whether Hu Yaobang can take on the responsibilities of the office of chairman of the Central Committee. They think mainly that Hu Yaobang's pace is too fast, that he is an extremist. Although only a few hold this view, a dispute has already formed and it will not be easy to unify thinking. This is even more serious a question than the transfer of Hua Guofeng, and one of the main reasons that the Sixth Plenum was delayed.

To unify thinking, the upper levels of the Chinese Communist Party recently had Feng Wenbin [7458 2429 1755] give a talk at the Central Committee party school and relayed the contents of the talk to the leadership levels.

### Feng Wenbin's Talk

Actually, Feng Wenbin's talk was composed of the opinions by regions and sections made in response to Hua Guofeng's stepping down after the Central Committee Document Four which concerned his leaving his post had been relayed to lower echelons. Feng Wenbin's talk mainly explained that it was historical necessity that Hua Guofeng not hold the party chairmanship. Hua Guofeng had become party chairman under specific historical conditions. At the time, he had the support of old cadres. But later, because Hua Guofeng upheld the two "whatevers" and obstructed rehabilitation of a series of grievances, obstructed the reemergence of a group of old cadres, including Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun, engaged in blind faith in the individual, the foreign great leap and treated the direction of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP in a negative fashion, he really no longer was equal to the task of party chairman; he no longer enjoyed high prestige and if he didn't step down promptly, it would be difficult to implement thoroughly the line of the Third Plenary Session.

Hua Guofeng's achievement in overthrowing the gang of four should be admitted, but the role of the individual cannot be exaggerated. At that time, Hua Guofeng had to consider the question: If he didn't get rid of the gang of four would his position be stable? That is, to a certain degree he was forced by circumstances to unite with



The old guard to get rid of the gang of four. What is even more important, he should have seen the enormous historical role of the "April 5 Movement" and the negative teaching of "criticize Deng." In "criticize Deng" many people saw clearly the true nature of the gang of four and understood that Deng Xiaoping's so-called "restore capitalism" methods conformed to the actual situation, the national circumstances and the interests of the people.

#### There Are Three Views on Criticizing Mao

The view of Hua is inseparable from the assessment of Mao. Everyone knows that in politics, Hua Guofeng's straight rise relied on the Mao Zedong truth ("You do the work and I'll not worry.") Because of foolish loyalty to Mao, some old cadres were unable to let go of the blind faith in the individual and naturally had different views on Hua Guofeng's transfer to power. On the issue of criticizing Mao Zedong, there were three views within the Chinese Communist Party: 1. Evaluate Mao Zedong's merits and faults by seeking truth from facts; 2. Exaggerate Mao Zedong's merits and minimize his faults; 3. Deny Mao Zedong completely.

Because the views of the upper echelons of the Chinese Communist Party with regard to Mao Zedong were not uniform, for a while it was hard to reach unified thinking. In his talk discussed above, Wan Li said, "Discussion of resolutions concerning certain historical questions should be delayed," which really means that discussion of the evaluation of Mao Zedong should be delayed temporarily. Deng and Hu wanted to reach the goal of unified thinking by means other than direct discussion.

It can be seen that this spring, to maintain a stable situation, Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang temporarily put the issue of Hua and the evaluation of Mao on the back burner and emphasized concentrating all the party's energies into doing a good job of economic readjustment and resolving the central mission of the present.

Of course, putting an issue on the back burner is not the same as actual retreat.

#### Resistance to Hu's Promotion

The question of Hua Guofeng has in actuality, been already resolved. Now there is but one more procedure and that is to have the decision of the Politbureau and the Central Committee Work Conference passed by the plenary session of the Central Committee or the Party Congress. This certainly can be done. Though there will be some discussion, this is not a very big obstacle. The Hu Yaobang issue will not be a problem either. He has already assumed the office of party chairman. Deng Xiaoping thinks that it is best to change controversy to unite through ideological work.

For these reasons, and also to do a good job of economic readjustment and to correct deviations in the guiding ideology of economic work, the Chinese Communist Party began to use the methods of criticism and self-criticism among leadership agencies and cadres to clear out leftist ideological activity. This is actually a rectification and should gradually eliminate from the party the influence of Mao Zedong's leftist line.

### Anti-Leftist Is Very Clever

It is very clever for Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang to do this because this is attending to trifles and neglecting essentials. One of the serious issues within the Chinese Communist Party and one of the fundamental reasons why old cadres oppose some of the methods of Deng and Hu is that the leftist spirit is hanging on. This "left" becomes an "obstacle"--an obstacle on the road forward. The campaign of Deng Xiaoping and the others to clear out vigorously leftist influence now is the basis for getting a grip on the main contradiction and on getting rid of obstacles.

The publication of the two important articles referred to above provoked widespread attention in Beijing. The article "Rectify the Guiding Ideology of Economic Work--on Leftist Mistakes in Economic Construction," by a special commentator of RENMIN RIBAO, criticized the "accelerationism" which was the guiding ideology of past economic work, summarized experience suited to the national situation, and proposed a correct guiding ideology for economic work. This essay is a summing up of the Chinese Communist Party setting things to rights in economic work and has great significance for economic readjustment work. From another perspective, this essay criticizes both Mao and Hua, though they are not mentioned by name. Criticizing the "acceleration" and rash advance from the fifties to the Cultural Revolution is mainly a criticism of Mao Zedong's "left" guiding ideology. The essay also criticizes the "new style old mistakes" of the period 1977-78 after the gang of four fell from power, that is, it criticizes Hua Guofeng's "left" guiding ideology. The essay is written very persuasively and can play a certain role in eliminating the influence of the "leftist" line in the Chinese Communist Party and a certain role in unifying the views with regard to Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng.

### The Profound Meaning of Huang Kecheng's Essay

As concerns the important essay of Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134], some people in Beijing feel that this is the keynote of the CCP Central Committee's criticism of Mao, and others think that the publication of this essay means that the upper echelons of the Chinese Communist Party have already achieved a united view of the Mao Question. There are some who say that this essay is an interim summary of the discussion of the Mao evaluation by the upper echelons of the Chinese Communist Party and the aim of publishing it was to close discussion on this issue temporarily and that at the appropriate time the discussion would begin again on this basis. Actually, there are so many contradictory views it is impossible to decide which is right. This writer thinks that Huang Kecheng's essay can play a role in relieving the feelings of old cadres who oppose criticizing and evaluating Mao. Deng Xiaoping took some pains himself in letting this essay be published. The viewpoint taken by the essay should be accepted by those people who have been very deeply influenced by leftist ideology. It may be that this interim summary may differ somewhat from the final summary to be issued some time in the future, but the difference will not be too great.

### The Circumstances Favor Deng and Hu

It is very clear that Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang have never stopped considering how to resolve the issue of Hua and criticizing Mao. The present cooling off period is so that the issue can be resolved better, but actually for the past several months they have never stopped paving the way for a resolution of this issue. Seen from this angle, postponing the opening of the Sixth Plenum until June is even more favorable for Deng and Hu's entire situation.

There is one point which must be admitted and that is that the four-horse cart of Deng, Hu, Chen and Zhao or the system of Deng, Hu and Zhao is pretty powerful. Hua Guofeng's authority in the party, government and army has already actually been stripped away and transferred to the Deng-Hu-Zhao system. Although the present obstacles are not small, I believe they are not very big. The situation is now under control and is developing toward greater stability. The important thing is for Deng and Hu to be stronger and bolder, and not retreat even one step from the line of the Third Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and not give in too much to the forces which block the road ahead. If they make unprincipled concessions, then it will be a retreat, and there will be the danger that leftist errors and the leftist line will stage a comeback.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### VIEWS ON DEMOCRATIZATION, FREEDOM OF SPEECH EXPRESSED

Hong Kong CHI-SHIN NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 5, May 81 pp 67-72

[Article by Hu Ping ]5170 1627]: "On Freedom of Speech"; second installment; for related items see JPRS 78222, 4 June 1981 and 78312, 17 June 1981 of this series]

[Text] Chapter II The Power of Freedom of Speech and Process of Its Realization

#### 1. No Realization of Freedom of Speech in Any Country Does Not Go Through a Tortuous Process

Hegel put it very well: the same maxim, when it is uttered by a young person (even if his perception of this maxim happens to be entirely correct), never proffers the meaning and breadth in the wisdom of an adult who has gone through all vicissitudes of life. The latter can convey the total power of the content contained in this maxim.

We should recognize that, in the beginning, people's understanding of freedom of speech was very shallow. From the point of view of many people, this principle was both abstract and hollow; some people were fundamentally incapable of understanding what it means; a considerable number of people equated it with the offering and acceptance of admonition in feudal times; nobody ever acknowledged that even a serious opposition opinion should enjoy the freedom to be expressed; and even among the few people who understood its connotation, its value was still often underestimated. Today, the situation is very different. The people are mature. When people once again put forward this principle under such circumstances, the total power of the content it embodies is already fully conveyed.

From the point of view of history, in putting down its roots in other countries freedom of speech has likewise gone through a tortuous process without any exception. The direct product of the 1649 bourgeois revolution in Britain was Cromwell's dictatorship; next was its opposite, feudal restoration; not until after the 1688 Glorious Revolution did democracy begin to stand on its feet. The United States with the most typical type of bourgeois democracy is also a case; its constitutional amendment embodying "freedom of speech above everything else" was passed only 15 years after the victory of revolution was achieved. The actual promotion of democratic politics did not begin under the administration



of the first president, Washington, but really only under the administration of the third president, Jefferson. Perhaps, a people can really appreciate a principle only through its own direct experience, especially in the case of a people like us who have always regarded ourselves as the "Middle Kingdom," who are not very good at learning strong points from others, who pride themselves on being ancient and civilized, and who are reluctant to acknowledge other people's wisdom. This of course is not to say that we Chinese have not yet suffered enough hardship because of punishments meted out on the grounds of speech; exactly on the contrary, the Chinese have suffered too much hardship in this regard. Yet, people have accepted the lessons erroneously. Those endless "ideological crimes" and "literary litigations" not only have failed to prompt people to pursue freedom of speech but made many people believe, instead, that freedom of speech was fundamentally impossible, that speech must be controlled, and that the whole question lay merely in who was to control it. In other words, many have believed that only autocratic methods were practicable methods of ruling, and the difference lay merely in whether bad people or good people were to exercise the autocracy.

## II. Looking at the Influence of Remnant Feudal Poison from the Criticize-Legalism and Oppose-Confucianism Movement

People are not likely to forget, of course, the criticize-legalism and oppose-Confucianism movement that was so boisterous for a while some years ago; that really reflected from a side flank the continuation of the influence of old concepts from 3,000 years of feudal autocracy, as the revolutionary cloak of setting off "class struggle" was conferred upon the inhuman Legalist thought and the enforcement of totalitarian autocracy was taken as "consolidating the proletarian dictatorship." "Overall dictatorship in the ideological realm" was learned from Han Fei's adage: "As regards the approaches to proscribing treacheries by the people, the most superior ones proscribe their thinking, the next proscribe their words, and still next proscribe their deeds," and some even believed that this was none other than Marxism! There was a considerable number of other people who, while in theory loathed this stuff about kingly and tyrannical ways full of murderous motives, pitifully did their best to persuade themselves that that was "necessary." Those who professed to be the newest people somehow possessed the oldest thoughts. Precisely because these thoughts were the oldest, they very easily gained the powerful support of the forces of habit; and precisely because these people appeared with the newest outlook, they could effortlessly cast aside the fine achievements of modern civilization (such as freedom of speech) like obsolete toys. In the prolonged feudal society of China, the reputation of the Legalist School fell along with the collapse of the Qin Dynasty and was never able to recover; but the Legalist ideology somehow eventually secured increasing preponderance among the Confucianists of the empire, especially in respect to theory and practice in running the state. The humanist ideology of the original Confucianists, because of a consideration of expediency in respect to politics, was regarded as a pedantic theory and, in fact, negated. This state of "Confucianism in form and Legalism in substance" which lasted 2,000 years left a very bad legacy,—in politics, those in power may say one thing and do another. This legacy has been generating interests even up to this day. The question of freedom of speech may be said to be an outstanding example. Not very many

people have publicly stepped forward to oppose freedom of speech; nor do they explain in detail the reasons and prescriptions as to why they must enforce the absence of such a freedom; nor have they ever done any slightly profound thinking on this question. But, from the bottom of their hearts, they have always considered that freedom of speech is something to be said in front of the stage while behind the scene, it should be another matter. The thought process of these people, essentially speaking, has remained under the influence of the political thinking of the feudal era. It was only after the 10-year turmoil that this legacy began to be subject to real criticism. Because this theory of saying one thing while meaning another has suffered the punishment of reaping its own fruit; it was a double-edged sword, which originally was thought to be used to deal with other people, but in the end turned out to wreak great harm on themselves. Only then did people begin to sense how concrete freedom of speech was, and to sense how important it was to really establish a system of laws with generally binding power! A state, in order to consolidate itself and prosper, depends on unwavering execution of far-sighted and forceful principles. Even conditions in the capitalist world have without exception proved that those countries which enforce freedom of speech are more stable and long-lasting than those which do not. Can we still allow a myopic policy of slow suicide that sacrifices long-range goals to temporary expediency, to continue?

### III. Law and Power

In a society which for long periods of time has lacked the tradition of rule of law, people usually cannot see the meaning and power of the law. Some in power usually are reluctant to have their power constrained by law, and some people usually do not believe that the law can constrain power. Today, many leaders, especially those who have themselves suffered harm from unlimited power and have now once again acceded to important office, have sensed from their own personally experienced pains the necessity of constraining power by law. After they again gained control over power, they proceeded immediately to carry out the work of putting limits on power; this is really wise. But this is but one aspect of the matter; we still have no reason to think that all leaders will from now on know how to exercise their power with caution, nor do we have reason to think that so long as those in power consciously guard against abusing power, democracy can be said to be properly protected. Hence, we must discuss another aspect of the matter, probably a more important aspect, and that is the question of whether or not the law can keep power constrained and how to go about this.

The tyrannical behavior on the part of the "gang of four" in trampling on the law at random made people deeply aware of the various defects existent in our laws. But it also made people more skeptical as to whether the law has any power. Compared to "there being no laws to follow," "laws not being followed" is an even more serious and more real fact. If the phenomenon of "laws not being followed" cannot be prevented effectively, then the solution of "there being no laws to follow" will be useless. Rules of the law, however perfect, are, after all, only rules; lacking coercive power, they are not worth a single penny. Hence, we must solemnly examine the function and the power of the law.

As everybody knows, might is not necessarily right. But, regrettably, neither is right necessarily might. People cannot rely just on right and expect to

overcome the enemy and win victory without exercising any power. Articles in the Constitution on citizens' rights are not divine talismans; they cannot automatically play the role of protecting the people. In the final analysis, the power of these articles lies in the people's unanimous understanding of them and firm determination to enforce them. For this reason, in order to strengthen our democracy and legal system, we must recognize the following points:

1. Democracy and rule of law can be realized;
2. Understand the definitive meaning of the principles of democracy;
3. Cultivate the habit of observing problems with a legal eye;
4. Be prepared with will and courage to defend democracy and the rule of law.

#### IV. The Secret of Today's Autocracy

First of all, we must firmly believe that democracy and the rule of law can be realized. Long periods of autocratic rule easily made some people lose confidence in their own power, and this negative, pessimistic psychology in turn became a very great obstacle in the realization of democracy. In order to eliminate this pessimistic psychology, the key lies in pointing out the secret of autocratic rule. The most important characteristics of today's autocracy is that, unlike ancient times, it no longer exists as a power openly hostile to the people; on the contrary, it takes the most direct expression of the people's will as the reason for its own existence. The secret of its rule is based on deception rather than violence. Because in the final analysis, its instruments of violence are a result of carrying out a deception of the people who themselves make up such instruments of violence. The autocrats of the past were somewhat different: under the rule of the Czar, the instruments of violence used to deal with the interior depended in the first place on the palace guard made up of youngsters of the privileged class, and in the second place on the savage and cruel Cossack cavalries; elements of the instruments of violence of Napoleon III were mainly those of the vagabond proletariat. Suppressing the people with these kinds of guns' precludes the need to fabricate slogans such as "defend people's democracy."

The so-called deception here has two meanings. One is to say: When the autocratic monster at first arose, it obtained the hearty support of a people who made up the majority through deception. Those who have read "Rise and Fall of the Third Reich" are unlikely to doubt that, Germans in the early days, especially youths and children, really fanatically supported Hitler. As we look back at the early days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" began to make their mark, the Chinese also made a similar mistake. This handful of autocratic devils disguised themselves as "standard-bearers" who "raise their hands the highest," and they took advantage of people's childish, trustful, and muddle-headed enthusiasm; for a while, they were really rather powerful. From this, we should see that power is never an extra-natural thing; it is not an opposite different from our own power. In modern times, most political theories acknowledge that there is only one source of power--conscious support by a



considerable number of people. If this is the case, why, when the reactionary complexion of this band of autocratic devils became more and more exposed, did they still look very powerful? Why, even when an overwhelming majority of the people opposed them from the bottom of their hearts, were they still unable to do anything about them? This was, primarily, because of the second aspect of their deception: i.e., through the means of proscribing freedom of speech they insulated the channels for people to exchange their experiences and thereby created the false outlook that they were continuously supported by a majority of people. Perception of things always requires a process; truth at first is always in the hands of a few. When those who first became enlightened rose to oppose the autocrats, they were, because of a lack of consciousness on the part of most people, looked upon as "counter-revolutionaries." Hence, the autocrats took advantage of the means to impose punishments because of people's words to strangle successfully those who first rose to oppose them. Since the autocrats monopolized all the fronts of expression, they easily succeeded in distorting the true state of things and in pouring dirty water on the heads of the suppressed warriors. They not only persecuted these first enlightened people, but also effectively prevented truth from being widespread, and thereby greatly delayed the process through which the vast ranks of the people became awakened. On the basis of this same reasoning, the autocrats could also suppress the second group and the third group of the enlightened by the hand of the people themselves. Along with further development of things, more and more people, through their personal experience, began gradually to feel skeptical. But, among them many were likely to hesitate, because a person with the exception of those few who were especially firm and insightful) would be hard put, before exchanging his perception with others, to have enough confidence in his own point of view; in addition in an atmosphere of a lack of freedom of speech, this kind of exchange was impossible. This served to determine that although many people began to feel skeptical and repulsed from the bottom of their hearts, they dared not make a formal presentation of their views. For long periods of time, the autocrats promoted their people-deceiving policy by proclaiming a theory which shook the self-confidence of every individual by abstractly affirming that "the people are holy" in entertaining words. In this way they did their best to make every individual feel that his own judgment was unreliable. In the case of others, although they had seen through them, they had also witnessed the fate of the previous group of rebels, so they could not but feel inhibited; because they could not tell the relative ratio of forces in confronting them, they naturally dared not show anything. Apart from the above skeptical people, there remained a contingent of good-natured and foolish people who continued to remain muffled; every time when a few enlightened persons stepped forward from the ranks of the deceived, a few new and even younger dunces would again join the old ranks. Apart from this, among every people there is always a bunch of muddle-headed fellows who only seek temporary ease for themselves and never care much about the fate of the state. In addition, under the premise of forcible suppression of thought and along with the spread of skepticism, there prevailed in society also a kind of policy of adaptation, of cynicism marked by disillusionment with this world, and a sneering attitude. In the case of all the above-mentioned people, while differences among them were great, and some of them even constituted a de facto force of sabotage against autocracy, they still behaved according to the earlier indenture they had imperceptibly contracted when they had supported the autocrats; that is to say, they still followed the orders of those autocrats as they struggled against and



suppressed those who dared to step forward publicly to show their resistance. Because one logic under contemporary autocracy was to allow no neutrality in terms of the adage that "if you are not standing on the side of the revolution, you must be standing on the side of counterrevolution," so these autocrats were able relentlessly to force people to become accomplices to all the actions and crimes under their rule. Under such circumstances, even when the autocrats had actually lost most of their popularity, they still could successfully on the surface retain control over the situation. It was in a situation like this that the instruments of violence used by the autocrats to suppress and intimidate the people were still made up by the people themselves.

The ultimate masterpiece of this ruling technique was demonstrated by the present autocracy in the demonstrations and meetings that took place on the 7th and 8th of April 1976 in various places around the country. At that time, the ugly posture and fierce complexion of the "gang of four" had all been exposed; they enjoyed popularity neither with the party, nor with the army, nor with the people on their side. Yet they still succeeded in conducting a great farce which purported to suggest that "hundreds and thousands of the army and the people throughout the country condemned the counterrevolutionary incident before Tiananmen." Was this the work of an infinitely powerful magic wand in the hands of the "gang of four"? Was that seal-handle wielded in a way equivalent to the power of tens of thousands of soldiers? No, to put it bluntly, it was entirely a kind of self-threat and self-intimidation: There could not have been a worse case of power conversion than this--a force made up of the people being turned around in opposition to suppress the people themselves. In this process of conversion, speech control was the first step and the key step. When we recognize this point, we shall also recognize the secret of present-day autocracy.

#### V. Democracy Is an Instinct of Our Era

After the smashing of the "gang of four," more and more people have come forward to broach the question of democracy and a legal system; this has been itself a symbol of brightness. Democracy can reappear because most people have personally suffered at the hand of undemocratic practices; the rule of law can also be realized because most people have urgently sensed its necessity. Democracy is still the main current of our era, and it has become even more penetrating and more widespread than it was in the past. The process of the rise and fall of present-day autocracy has revealed a sardonic fact! When tens of thousands of people added water to lubricate the grinding stone of autocracy, they thought they were preparing for "genuine democracy." This fact illustrates both, that democracy is still a powerful force today which no one dares to challenge directly, and that this centipede autocracy does not topple even when dead.... The momentum of democracy is none other than the people's desire to master their own fate. But this desire can only increase in fortitude along with the increase in people's material wealth and the frequency of people's spiritual communication. The development of present-day information technologies will within a few decades render harmless one of the autocrats' magic wands--the insulation of ideological and cultural exchange between all of humanity....

## VI. The Role of the Constitution

Wherein does the role of the Constitution lie? It lies in providing a rallying point for all those who love democracy. Take freedom of speech for example, once more people understand its precise meaning, that is the equivalent of establishing a common program for their united action. Once an encroachment on speech by those in power takes place, all those who love democracy will take the same view without prior consultation. They will adopt a common stand with respect to the matter of preventing those in power from suppressing speech, no matter how extremely different their opinions are as to the speech itself. If a person thinks of freedom of speech only when his own speech encounters suppression; and when some other speech, especially that to which he happens to be opposed, encounters such suppression, he refrains from making any protest or even helps aggravate the situation, then that naturally fails to serve the cause of protecting freedom of speech. The demand for freedom of speech is precisely this: Whether you agree with or oppose a certain view, you should always acknowledge that that view is entitled to the right of expression and you should always defend the people expressing that view. Apart from this, it is impossible to achieve protection of the minority and impossible to prevent those in power from suppressing truth. With his characteristic incisiveness, Voltaire wrote the following statement, which ought to cause all those who really ardently love democracy to reflect: I am firmly opposed to your opinion, but I swear to defend you right to express it. Only in this way can the practice of those in power of suppressing people's speech be effectively prevented. The wonderful thing about the articles of the Constitution which prescribe various citizens' rights is that they are uncorruptible, simple principles; once people understand their meaning, they can always accurately practice them. During the Cultural Revolution, the proposal was made to measure everything with Mao Zedong Thought; but that still meant everybody measured everything according to his own understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. Hence, not only was it impossible for people to have uniform understanding and action, but equally sincere people believing in Mao Zedong Thought were led inevitably to internecine struggles among themselves and the "gang of four" and their ilk were given the opportunity to climb to high posts. There are usually more good people than bad people in the world; yet good people are often abused by bad people. The reason here is precisely that good people are not good at finding a rallying point, a common point, therefore they end up in internecine struggles against one another while bad people reap a fisherman's harvest simply by sitting around. Putting into effect a legal system is designed exactly to overcome such a tragedy. The practice of the rule of law requires people to measure everything with a legal eye; because of the clarity of the articles of law, all those sincerely upholding the law are assured of gaining a common perception and assured of adopting a fairly consistent stand on major questions, so that the differences between them can be gradually solved on a more rational basis.

Take for example the possibility of treating the Li Yizhe [2621 0001 0772] incident according to the spirit of the law, why should the solution of this question be difficult? First of all, one need only to release him without any charges according to the principle of freedom of speech; as to whether or not the big-character poster in question was anti-party or antisocialist, may be argued. If some comrades really think that that was "counterrevolutionary speech," they should be allowed to say so, but they have no right to sentence Li Yizhe for a

crime on the basis of such a view. We should know that, above all judgments, there is still a supreme authority--the law; it was those who arrested Li Yizhe who really violated the law and who really deserve punishment by the law. This is the rule of law.

#### VII. It is Necessary To Observe Problems from the Legal Point of View

We should acknowledge that it is by no means an easy thing to cultivate a legal eye. This is not so much a question of changing one's viewpoint as it is one of changing one's attitude. At first glance, the law seems impartial; it seems incongruous with people's liking and disliking based on their judgment of right and wrong. Those who have a surplus of enthusiasm but a deficiency in composure and who lack experience and foresight may very easily take the law as the refuge of bad people, a false area of neutrality, and an obstacle fettering people; to them, it is at least an inspection line in which people definitely need not abide like pedantic scholars. Take freedom of speech for example, since revolutionary speech is allowed and counterrevolutionary speech is also allowed, what, according to these people's view, a preposterous thing can this be! Of course, they may also say that, in the case of those who express reactionary views, there is indeed no need to arrest them as a matter of necessity, but if they are arrested, what can be so serious about that? This would be their thinking. The preference of civil struggle over military struggle was perhaps easier to understand than freedom of speech; but during the Cultural Revolution, it was never strictly implemented. In those days when "one sentence is equivalent to ten thousand sentences," somehow even half of this sentence showed no effect; was this not rather strange? The reason was that, at that time, many people were of the opinion: What's wrong about cracking down on bad people? Even if this did not tally with established policy, at least there would be no great deviation in direction; on the contrary, in criticizing us for cracking down on bad people, you are the ones who are pretentious and probably reactionary underneath. Under such a trend of thinking, old tricksters (such as Lin Biao and the "gang of four") purposely added oil to fire, opportunists made a point to exaggerate things, and weak-hearted persons chose to turn "left" rather than right, thus the practice of military struggle became more and more fanatic and eventually went beyond control. In contrast, the principle of freedom of speech sounded more complicated to begin with, now naturally it could hardly be carried out; in addition certain immature people never knew what freedom of speech was; to say nothing of those paradoxically informed people who always stubbornly held that reactionary speech could not have been included; even among those people who did understand the meaning of the principle of freedom of speech, now many could have maintained that it must be strictly enforced without any exception? All of this cannot be necessarily attributed to the possibility that people purposely ignored the law; in reality, their lack of understanding of the important meaning of the law was also a very important cause. The reason why people did not insist on having freedom of speech enforced without any exception was because they did not sense its total meaning. By taking advantage of such immaturity on the part of most people, the "gang of four" turned themselves into unlimited authorities by trampling on the law and committing heartless crimes: In doing so, they provided a great deal of negative experience for the people. This has today given the Chinese people the best opportunity to recognize the value of the law. Indeed,



a people can learn a lesson only by way of its own direct, painful experience. But, if we think relying on a painful experience alone will necessarily guarantee that everybody is bound to absorb some instructive benefit, I am afraid that would be inappropriate. If relying on the experience of having suffered through plenty of calamities and difficulties served to assure a people's wisdom and maturity, then we Chinese people would rank foremost in the world. Here is still another important premise. We must be good at summing up these historical lessons and give them a profound analysis and theoretical generalization, and also insist on spreading such lessons without any letup.

#### VIII. Lack of Attention In Letting Freedom of Speech Penetrate Deeply into People's Mentality Was Important Defect of Democratic Movement in the Past

Beginning with Kang Yuwei [1660 2589 3634] and Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389], not a single advanced Chinese failed to consider democracy in endeavoring to make the motherland strong and prosperous. Of the revolutionary struggles during the past 100 years, including those less than thorough compromises and reforms, not a single failed to contain the struggle for democracy as its content. These struggles for democracy have won great victories and our people have gone far in enjoying democracy. Yet, the Qingming Festival of 1976 forced the Chinese people to sense clearly: We have completely lost democracy! People could only reflect with pain: Why did this happen?

Once an edifice is built, generally speaking, it should be hard to destroy it. But if the foundation was originally not very stable and solid, then it will take very little effort to destroy it, and the entire edifice will collapse. Democracy is also something like this. Insofar as democracy is concerned, freedom of speech is its very foundation stone. If most people lack understanding of the meaning and value of freedom of speech, then the whole structure of democracy is no different from an edifice built on a sandy beach.

These are precisely the facts. When our predecessors struggled for democracy, they made a fatal mistake, they failed to let the most fundamental principle of democracy--freedom of speech, penetrate deeply into people's mentality. Since most people failed to understand the complete meaning and important role of freedom of speech, including certain very knowledgeable and talented people, this provided the autocrats with a most advantageous breach for their breakthrough.... There is only one source of the power in democracy: that is people's awakening. The most stern fact lies in that we have struggled for democracy for 100 years; but even today, how many people understand the true meaning and value of freedom of speech? No wonder feudalism can be restored repeatedly! Our conclusion is: Precisely because the principle of freedom of speech happens to be most elementary, most dull, and most simplistic, we need most urgently to let it penetrate deeply into people's mentality, we need most urgently to let people understand its entire meaning, entire basis, and entire value.... Please just think: If most people have really understood the principle of freedom of speech, then, no matter how inadequate their perception in other aspects might be, they will take the common Constitution-defending stand of opposing the attempt of those in power to suppress speech. This should serve to impose a necessary and at the same time important limit on power, to provide a fundamental and crucial avenue for the advancement



of rationality, and to confer an elementary and basic guarantee on the people's rights. With this move toward freedom of speech, the chess game of democracy can then be played in a most flexible manner, and the process of democratization becomes thus an irreversible trend. Today this requires us to explain tirelessly and persistently to the people the principle of freedom of speech....

#### IX. The Process and The Devious Road

Since democracy is a process, we cannot, of course, expect it to be perfect; but, in order to prevent it from going astray, we must also grasp the most fundamental thing from the very beginning.... Today we must pay full attention to the study and discussion of the basic principles of democracy and the legal system, and of these the freedom of speech is again the most basic one in a series of such basic principles; therefore, it should be placed in a place of greater priority.

The American declaration on human rights which was enthusiastically praised by revolutionary teachers of the proletariat put forward a viewpoint worthy of our reference: It points out that in order to protect the blessings of democracy, it is absolutely necessary to "constantly return to the basic principles." This implies that the preservation of democracy is determined to a certain extent by people who achieve a perceptive and a consistent view of the basis for democracy's existence. So-called "constantly returning to the basic principles" means nothing other than critically understanding the meaning we have conferred on the basic principles of democracy. Precisely because of this, the future of the principle of freedom of speech really depends to a certain extent on a clarification of the accurate meaning of this term. This is basically a theoretical task, one which is perhaps more basic when compared to numerous other theoretical tasks. Before this task is accomplished, it is almost impossible for people to solve perfectly any other theoretical task.... History has already punished us once, because our predecessors neglected this most basic task; if we fail to absorb the pertinent lessons, fail to expound the meaning of the principle of freedom of speech in a detailed and thorough manner today, and thereby let it penetrate deeply into the mentality of more people, then history is bound to punish us once more.

Perhaps, some would ridicule our discussion as empty talk: "Freedom of speech is, of course, very good, but what if those in power fail to implement it?" ...We make it a special point to note: Whether or not there is freedom of speech in a country does not depend on whether those in power are willing to implement it but on whether people there insist on it. As everyone knows, in many underdeveloped countries the coup d'etat has become commonplace; yet, in a country with genuine democratic traditions, the occurrence of a coup d'etat can be inconceivable. This contrast effectively demonstrates that the key to the determination as to whether a country can adopt democracy does lie with the belief or qualities of those in power, but also with the degree of the people's perception of democracy. Some have been very dissatisfied with the degree of democratization in our country; others have refuted them by saying: If some others express opposition, would the situation not be even more messy? We cannot consider this refutation to be very good but, frankly speaking, it also contains a partial truth. In other words, the various kinds of achievements we have today obtained in

democratization are inseparable from the fact that the leaders are now carrying out a more correct line. If this line is changed, then, in the context of the present situation the recurrence of retrogression is by no means impossible; the present extent of the people's democratic consciousness is perhaps not yet enough to resist such retrogression (if it is imparted to those below from those above). This assumption may perhaps help us understand what an urgent task it is to further heighten people's democratic consciousness; to first of all, let more people really perceive the meaning and value of principles such as freedom of speech. This is both a fundamental measure to prevent retrogression and a necessary premise to guarantee continued advancement. I am afraid all those who are concerned about the future of political democratization in our country need to pay attention to this point.

[To be continued]

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